

A
HISTORY OF
PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE
AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH
OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART II.—HUMĀYŪN

10867

BY

MUHAMMAD 'ABDU'L GHANI, M.A., M.LITT. (CANTAB.),
*Professor, Morris College, Nagpur, C.P.; Chairman, Board of
Studies in Arabic and Persian, Nagpur University; Sometime
Fellow, M.A.-O. College, Aligarh.*

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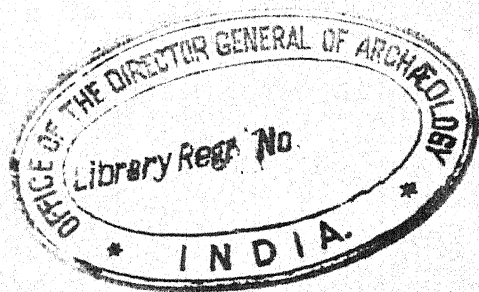
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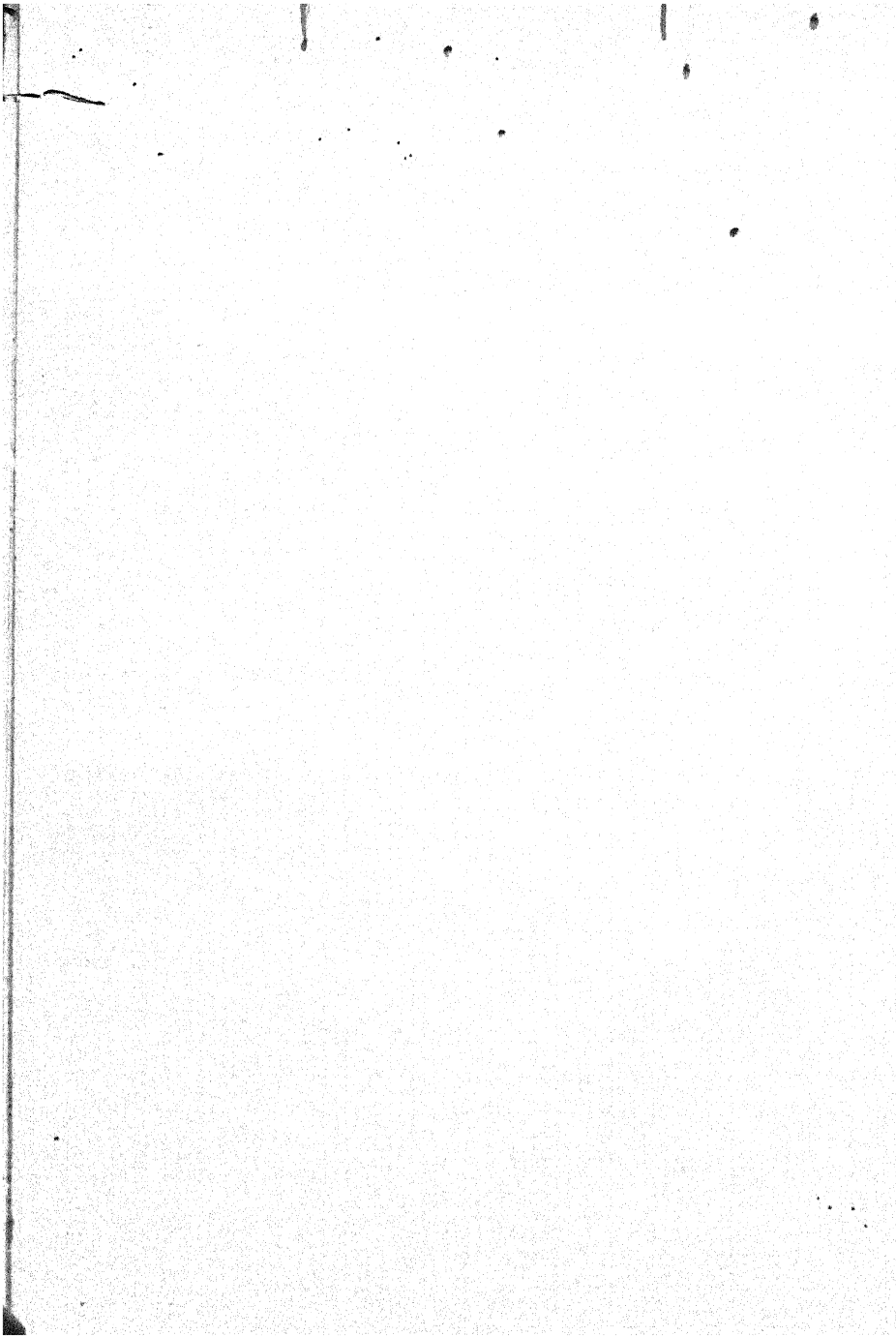
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HUMĀYŪN SEATED ON HIS THRONE AT ĀGRA.

[From an album of highly finished portraits of the Mughal
emperors of Hindūstān.]

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

PART II—HUMĀYŪN

CHAPTER I

After Bābur's death, which took place at Āgra, his eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne in 937 A. H. The court poets composed congratulatory poems of which the following chronogram was cleverly devised mourning in one and the same breath for Bābur's death and exulting at Humāyūn's accession to the throne :

Humāyūn's
accession to the
throne.

Congratulatory
poems.

¹ شه خسروان شاه بابر که داشت
 دو صد بنده مانند جمشید و
 محمد همایون بجایش نشست
 چو طومار عمرش اجل کرده طے
 چو پرسند تاریخ اے دل بگو
 همایون بود وارث ملک وے

¹ Mirzā 'Alaud daula Qazwīnī, Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir (abridged), B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 27a.

The king of kings Shāh Bābur who had,
 Two hundred slaves like Jamshid and
 "Kai-khusrau";
 Muhammad Humāyūn sat in his place,
 When the roll of the latter's life was cut
 short by death;
 If they ask the date, O heart, say,
 "Humāyūn is the heir to his kingdom."

The practice of composing chronograms on memorable occasions was rapidly gaining popularity among the writers of the Indian courts. Even poets who had migrated from Persia, Turkistān, and Trans-Caspian Provinces, were taking a fancy for same and introducing subtleties in their compositions with artful devices in the use of words and their meanings.

Another chronogram that was composed and presented to him was the following :

محمد همايون شه نيك بخت
 كه خير الملوك است اندر سلوك
 چو برمسند پادشاهي نشست
 شدش سال تاريخ خير الملوك

Muhammad Humāyūn, the fortunate King,
 Who is the best of kings in their line;
 When on the throne of Empire he sat,

The year of his accession was “*Khair-ul-mulūk*” (the best of kings).

Again, when Humāyūn defeated Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī in a pitched battle at Mandsūr near Mālwa, the following *qit'a* was composed to commemorate the date of this victory :

همایوں شاہ غازی آنکہ اوراست
 هزاراں بندہ چون جمشید در خور
 بغیروزی چو آمد سوئے گجرات
 مظفر گشت فخر آل تیمور
 بہادر چون ذلیل و خوار گردید (تیمر ۱۲)
 شدہ تاریخ آن دل بہادر

Humāyūn is king, Ghāzī, and more,
 Thousands of slaves like Jamshīd him serve ;
 In victory, when he came to Gujarāt,
 Triumphed the ‘pride of Timūr’s race,’
 Bahādur, when fell so low and in disgrace,
 The date was found in ‘*zill i Bahādur*’
 (Bahādur’s disgrace).

Similarly when the fort of Champānēr was subdued by Humāyūn’s forces, the following verse was composed by the court poets in attendance :

تاریخ ظفر یافتن شاہ ہمایوں
 می جست خرد-یافت نہ شہر صفر بود

¹ Ibid., p. 346.

² Ibid., p. 347.

The date of Humāyūn's gaining victory,
Wisdom sought and found in '*nuh i Shahr i*
Safar būd' (it was the 9th of Safar).

This chronogram is most ingeniously devised since its very words tell the date and the month, while the year is to be found in the numerical value of its letters. Such niceties in the art of composition date from the reign of Humāyūn, and were developed in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngir, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb.

He was born at Cābul of Bābur's first wife, Māham Bēgum, in 913 A. H., which is synchronous with Bābur's adoption of the title of Pādishāh. The date of his birth was found by many poets in their metrical compositions, of which the following is from the pen of Bābur's trusted noble Khwāja Kalān:

سال مولود همایون شاهست
زادك الله تعالى قدرا
برده ام يك الف از تاريخش
تا كشم ميل دو چشم بدرا

It is the year of the birth of Humāyūn Shāh,
May God increase thy rank and dignity;

I have carried off one '*alif*' from his
chronogram,"

So that I may apply with it collyrium to the
two eyes of the evil.

¹ Naqsh 'Alī, Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'anī (abridged and bound with Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir), B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 151b.

² This means that the chronogram is short by 1.

Short phrases also, as was customary with poets on such occasions, were ingeniously constructed giving the date of his birth, to indicate his future greatness and kingly career. Some of these are as follows :

سلطان ہمایوں خان	...	[Sultān Humāyūn Khān]
شاہ فیروز قدر	...	[Shāh Fīrūz Qadr]
پادشاہ صف شکن	...	[Pādishāh Saf-Shikan]
خوش باد	...	[Khush Bād]

In his early youth he was trained under the fostering care of his father's learned secretaries Khwāja Kalān and Shaikh Zainuddīn. His father also paid personal attention to his education and used to correct in his letters mistakes of spelling and diction every now and then.¹

While quite young he developed a taste for Mathematics and Astronomy in the association of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī², Mullā Nūriddīn,³ and the celebrated astronomer Maulānā Ilyās.⁴ He seemed to have little liking for Turkī, and employed it on few occasions only. The rapidly dwindling influence of Turkī at his court is clearly noticeable. While Bābur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turkī, Humāyūn, in inverse ratio, neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his court, as well as his own liking for Persian.

¹ Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. II, p. 624.

² Bā Yazīd, Tārīkhī Humāyūn, I.O. MSS. No 223, fol. 24b.

³ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 223.

⁴ Badā'uni, Vol. III, p. 131.

The only instances of his Turki composition that could be discovered are the following :

(i) A few letters that he wrote to his father.

(ii) Occasional verses that he composed. of which, however, no trace could be found, except of one which is preserved in his name as follows :

من کہ بلبل ایک کلمی دین کو بمشام اہنگ یلہ
اوت سالیب تور خاتمہ رخسارہ کلرنک یلہ

The occasions on which he appreciated Turki verses were also few :

“After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift and a chronogram upon the conquest of India—also two *ghazals*, all of which pleased the Pādīshāh greatly.”¹

“About the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādīshāh. I immediately wrote a chronogram for the occasion which found much favour. The incident furnished the material for a ‘*ghazal*’ with which the sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mir ‘Alī Shir.”²

¹ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

² A. Vambéry, Travels and Adventures of Sidī 'Alī Re'īs, p. 47, London, 1899.

³ Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Even in his private conversations he used Turkī rarely. On two occasions he spoke it merely with the object that his other courtiers

Turkī rarely employed in his private conversation. might not understand him. One such occasion was at the blinding of

Kāmrān. When 'Alī Dost, a trusted servant of Humāyūn, came to give him certain news about it with a view to take his further instructions in the matter, Humāyūn was surrounded by people, and this was apparently why the servant chose to communicate the object of his visit in Turkī, saying :

۱ بوايشيكا هيچ كسى قلميدور

Nobody does this work,

whereupon Humāyūn abusing him said :

۲ ايتي قلتاق سن غانده بولب تور سن قلنك

What is wrong with thee, do it thyself.

The other occasion was when on account of the scarcity of water and the monopoly of the available well by Tardī Bēg, the entire menial staff had conspired against him and made their complaint to Humāyūn. Humāyūn thereupon rode up to Tardī Bēg and spoke to him in Turkī merely to avoid his being understood

1 Jauhar, Tazkirat ul wāqī'āt, B. M. MSS., Add. 16,711 fol. 123b.

2 Ibid.

by others, thereby to keep the prestige of the Khān in the eyes of those present intact :

چون آب بفراغت نمی رسید جماعه شاگرد همیشه
حضرت پادشاه آمده عرض نمودند که تردی بیگ باسپان
و شتران خون آب داد..... پادشاه او را مانع شوند الا باد
جنگ خواهیم کرد غایت کشته خواهیم شد یا آب میگیریم
چون حضرت دانستند که قباح خواهد شد سوار شدند
بدولت و بر سر چاه آمدند و بزبان ترکی گفتند غلامان
خیال خوب ندارند مردم خود را يك ساعت از آب گرفتن
مانع شو -

Since water was not being had in sufficient quantity the menial staff of His Majesty coming before him gave vent that Tardī Bēg supplied water to his own horses and camels . . . , the King should stop him, otherwise we would fight with him. At the most we might be killed or get water. When His Majesty knew that it would lead to evil, he mounted his horse and rode up to the top of the well, and said in Turkī language, "the servants are discontented. Stop your men drawing water for an hour."

A similar instance occurred when a servant wished to say that a certain Mughal captive had used unworthy language in respect of Humāyūn's person, and should on that account be beheaded :

¹ Ibid., fol 51b.

۱ يك مغل بدست ميرزا قلی چولی افتاد که پر روے او
 زخم محکم بود گرفته بدر گاه حضرت پادشاه آورد بزبان
 ترکی عرض کرد که این شخص آنکس است که بحضرت
 پادشاه ناسزا گفته بود فرمودند که بجزای خود رسیده
 است -

A Mughal on whose face there was a deep wound fell into the hands of Mirzā Qulī Chūlī. Having arrested him he brought him to the court of His Majesty and said in Turki language that the captive was that person who used unworthy language in respect of the Pādishāh. His Majesty replied that the wretch had received his reward.

One instance of his voluntarily employing Turki while speaking to a Turk is as follows :

۲ دوشخص رومی در بازار بودند که بحضرت پادشاه
 سلام کردند حضرت فرمودند که من دن دعاده یعنی ازما
 بیادشاه روم دعا بده ایشان گفتند که کوز اوچم یعنی
 بچشم -

Two persons of Rūm were in the market. They saluted His Majesty. His Majesty replied, '*min dan du'ā dīh*,' i.e., from me to the king of Rūm convey greetings. They rejoined, '*kūz ou cham*,' i.e., heartily or with great pleasure.

¹ Ibid., fol. 56a.

² Ibid., fol. 82a.

CHAPTER II

While for Turkī he seems to have had an aversion, for Persian he had a special liking. He encouraged it at his court and himself employed it on all public and private occasions. He also compiled a 'diwān' using *Humāyūn* as his pen-name. His best poetry is to be found in his 'ghazal.'

Some specimens are as follows:

'Ghazal.'

غزل
 کار من بامهوشی افتاده است
 در درونم آتشی افتاده است
 خانه ام روشن شد از روی حبیب
 پر تو از مهوشی افتاده است
 دل مرا ای جان بهر سومی کشد
 تا دلم با دلکشی افتاده است
 کام دل خواهم گرفتن این زمان
 چون بدستم سر خوشی افتاده است
 عقل و هوش از من مجوئید ای بتان
 چون همایون بیمهش افتاده است

¹ Abul Fazl testifies to its presence in the royal library : Cf. (and His Majesty's *diwān* exists in the royal library). [Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.]

² Nafa'is ul Ma'asir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 39a.

هستیم ز جان بنده اولاد علی¹
 هستیم همیشه شادبا یان علی
 چون سر ولایت از علی ظاهر شد
 کردیم همیشه در خون یان علی

We are from our hearts slaves to the
 sons of 'Alī,
 We are ever happy in the memory of 'Alī ;
 Since the mystic's secret is revealed
 through 'Alī,
 We always recalled the memory of 'Alī.

یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گردان²
 واقف بحقایق خواصم گردان
 از عقل جفا کار دل افکار شدم
 دیوانه خون خوان و خلاصم گردان

O God with Thy plentiful grace select me
 for Thy nearness,
 Make me acquainted with the secrets of Thy
 chosen people ;

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446.

NOTE.—The word 'یاد' in the last hemistich seems to be a misprint for 'ناد' which is more appropriate and is in accordance with the rules of prosody as saving a needless repetition of the word 'یاد' which occurs twice in the quatrain. But as the first reading is found in some other works also besides Farishta, the same is retained here in the text.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 435 (Newal Kishore edition, 1284 A. H.).

Through my tyrannic wisdom my heart was
rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from all
cares.

ای دل ز حضور یار فیروزی کن^۱
در خدمت او بصدق دلسوزی کن
هر شب بخیال دوست خرم بنشین
هر روز بوصل یار نوروزی کن

O heart, reap success from the presence of
the beloved,
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service :
Every night sit jubilant in the thought of
thy friend,
Every day celebrate a new year's day in
union with him.

اے آنکہ جفای تو بعالم علم است^۲
روزی که ستم نه بینم از تو ستم است
هر غم که رسد از ستم چرخ بدل
مارا چو غم عشق تو باشد چه غم است

O thou whose tyranny is well-known all
the world over,
The day on which I do not experience
severity from thee is severe ;
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the
oppression of the sky,

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.

I care not for, so long as I have the grief
of thy love in me.

اے آنکھ زیاد و تو دلم باشد شاد
بی یاد تو خاطر دمے شاد مباد
روزیکه زیاد تو کنم صد فریاد
آیا ز من غمزدات آید یاد

O thou from whose memory my heart
gains joy,
Without thy memory my soul no joy can know ;
The day that in thy memory a hundred
cries I raise,
Come to thee of me, the grief-stricken,
remembrance ?

Once in his appeal to Kāmrān for peace, he
subscribed the following verses purporting that for
every drop of blood spilt, Kāmrān would be answer-
able before God on the day of judgment :

بود خوں آن قوم در گردنت
بود دست آن جمع در دامن
همان به که بر صلح دای آوری
طریق مروت بجای آوری

¹ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 278.

Cf. Kāmrān's blunt reply to Humāyūn's generous appeal :

عروس ملک کسی در کنار گیرد تنگ که بوسه بر لب شمشیر آبدار دهد
He alone holds fast the bride of kingdom,
Who kisses the lip of the sharp sword.

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 351.]

The blood of that people hangs on thy neck,
 The hand of that band is on thy skirt ;
 Better is that thou decidest on peace,
 And showeth the manner of kindness and
 generosity.

An instance of his composing *masnawī* is to be found in one of his letters which he addressed to Bairām Khān on the occasion of the conquest of Qandhār :

باز فتح کے ز غیب روی نمود کہ دل دوستان ازو بکشد
 شکر للہ کہ باز شادانیم بر رخ یار و دوست خدا نیم
 دشمنان را بکام دل دیدیم میوۂ باغ فتح را چیدیم
 روز نوروز بپرم است امروز دل احباب بے غم است امروز
 شاد بادا ہمیشہ خاطر یار غم نگر دن بگرد یار و دیار
 همه اسباب عیش آماد است دل بفکر و صالت افتاد است
 کہ جمال حبیب کے بینم گل ز باغ وصال کے چینم
 گوش خرم شود ز گفتارت دیدہ روشن شود ز دیدارت
 در حرم حضور شاد بہم بنشینیم خرم و بے غم
 بعد ازاں فکر کار ہند کنیم عزم تسخیر ملک سند کنیم
 ہر در بستہ کشادہ شود ہرچہ خواہیم ازان زیادہ شود
 انچہ خواہیم از زمان و زمین گوید آمین جبرئیل امین
 یا الہی میسر م گرد آن دو جہاں را مسخر گردان

Again a victory showed its face from
Invisibility,
That the hearts of friends cheered to see it ;
Thanks be to God that we are again happy,
And we smile on the faces of companions and
friends ;
We saw our enemies with the object of their
heart achieved,
We plucked the fruit of the garden of victory ;
To-day is the Bairām's New Year's day ;
The heart of friends is without a grief to-day ;
The heart of the dear one be ever happy,
Grief may not go near to his heart, nor to
his native town ;
All the requisite material for comfort is ready,
My heart is anxious for union with thee ;
When would it be that I see the beauty of
the loved one,
When would I pluck the flower of the garden
of union with him ;
When should my ear become happy in
listening to thy speech,
And my eye lighted through seeing thy face ;
In the sanctuary of thy presence happy
together,
We sit cheerful and without a grief ;
After this we turn our care to the affairs of
India,
Resolved to subdue the kingdom of Sindh ;
Every door that is shut will be opened,
Whate'er we wished, more than that shall
we gain ;

And to what we desire from 'time' and
 'earth,'
 The trusty (amin) Gabriel will say 'amen';
 O God, make it our lot,
 Both the worlds be subdued to us.

He had also subscribed as a post-script the following quatrain of his ready composition on the margin :

اے آنکہ انیس خاطر مکزونی
 چوں طبع لطیف خویشتم موزونی
 بے یاد تو نیستم زمانے هرگز
 آیا تو بیاد من مکزوں چونی

O thou, who art the consoler of the grieved
 heart,
 Like thine own pure disposition thou art well-
 balanced ;
 Without thy recollection I am not for a
 moment,
 How art thee in the recollection of a grieved
 one like me ?

¹ Ibid. Cf. Bairām Khān's reply :

اے آنکہ بذات سایۂ بیچونی از هرچه ترا وصف کنم افزونی
 چوں میدانم کہ بیتو چوں میگذرد چوں میپرسی کہ در فراقم چونی
 O thou, who art in person the shadow of the Incomparable,
 Thou art more than whatever I praise thee with ;
 Since thou knowest how I pass my time without thee,
 Why dost thou ask how I fare in thy separation ?

One day the emperor planned a little excursion on horse-back to visit the graves of the holy
 Sheikhs of Lahore, and I accompanied
 His appreciation of Persian poets. him. We visited the graves of Shāh
 Qutbeddīn the Pīr of Delhi, of Sheikh
 Nizām Weli, Sheikh Ferīd Shekr-Ghendj, Mīr
 Khosru Dehlevī and Mīr Husein Dehlevī. When the
 conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mīr
 Khosru, I quoted some of his best poems, and
 under their influence I conceived a most telling
 distich. I turned to the emperor saying, 'It would
 be presumption on my part to measure my powers
 against those of Mīr Khosru, but he has inspired
 me, and I would fain recite my couplet before your
 Majesty.' 'Let us hear it,' said Humāyūn, and I
 recited the following :

هر که قانع شد بیک نان مرد مهترست
 کار او از جمله شاهان عالم بهترست

¹ Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs-Mīr'at ul Mamālik, p. 35, Iqdām Press, Stribul, 1313 A. H.

Cf. Khusrāu's original verses:

کوس شه خالی و بانگ غلغلش درد سر است
 هر که قانع شد بخشک و تر شه بصر و بر است
 مرد پنهان در گلیم پادشاه عالم است
 تیغ خفته در نیای پاسبان کشور است

Truly great is he who became contented with
his daily bread,
Better is his affair than all the kings of the
earth.

'By God,' cried the monarch, 'this is truly sublime.'

On one occasion Humāyūn quoted Nizāmī in a letter to Prince Akbar, reprimanding him for his playing truant :

غافل منشین نه وقت بازیست
وقت هنر است و کار سازيست

Don't sit idly, 'Tis not the time for play,
'Tis time for acquiring skill and doing work.

He had also inscribed in his own handwriting the following verse of Shaikh Āzarī on a niche of the arch of his palace :

شنیده ام که برین طارم زر اندود است
خطی که عاقبت کار جمله مکمود است

I have heard that on this golden vault there is,
An inscription which is the end of the work
of all Mahmūds.

¹ A. Vambery, *Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Alī Re'īs*, p. 54.

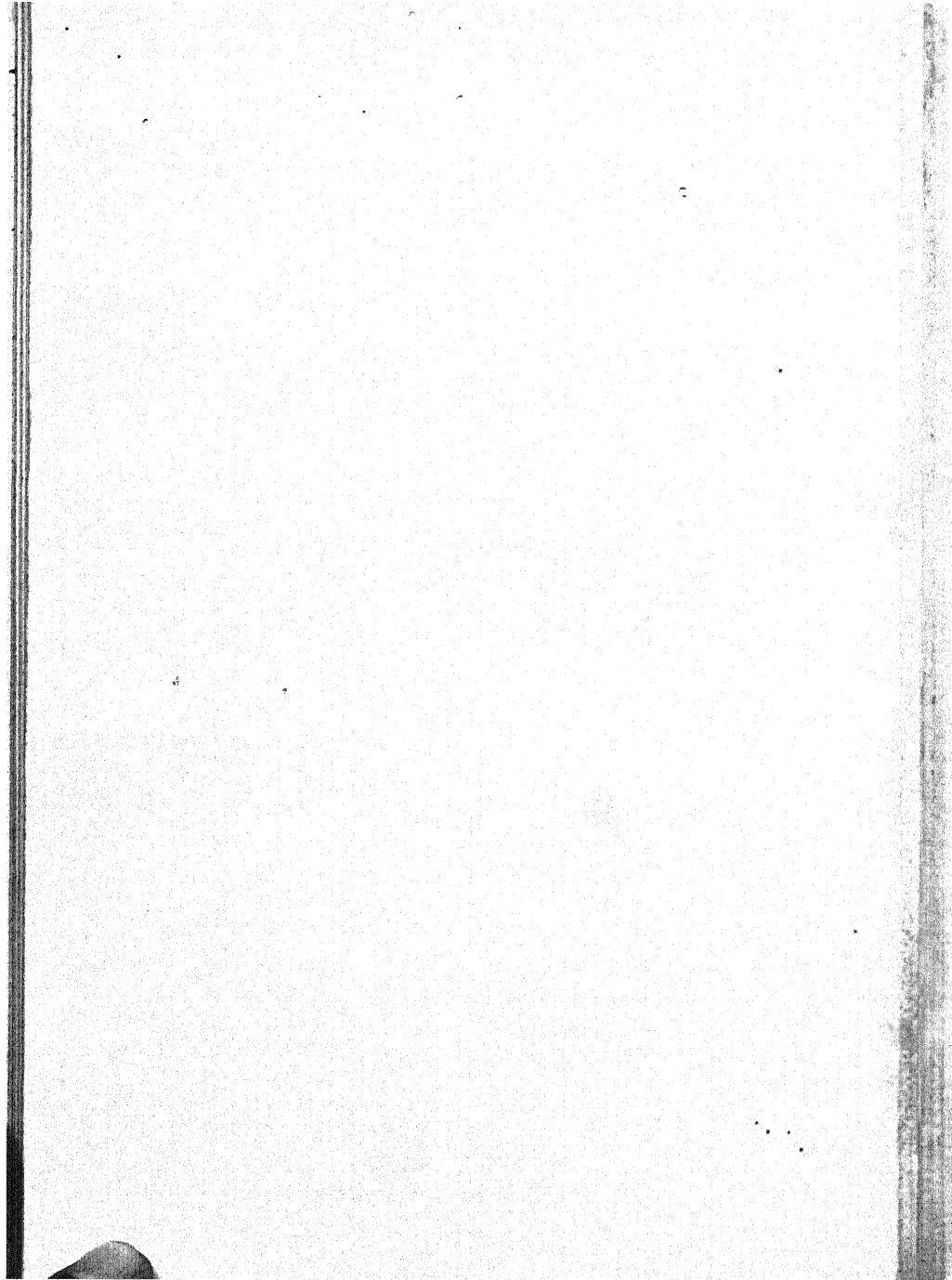
² Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 316.

³ Ibid., p. 363.



HUMĀYŪN WITH HIS PET HAWK, AND THE
YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR.

[*Exhibit : 1911 Exhibition, Allahabad.*]



From his own verses which include almost all principal kinds of poetry except '*qasida*' and, *qit'a*,¹ his position as a poet of the Persian language is clearly established. In his '*rubā'i*' and '*ghazal*' while behind no one, he stands ahead of many of his contemporaries. The chief feature of his style is the clearness of expression which pervades all his writings, and his words are always few, simple, and compact.

Estimate of his poetic taste; (finer) than that of an average poet.

¹ One instance of same as found in some Persian works like the *Ātashkada*, p. 39 (edited by Bland, London, 1844), and the *Majma'ul Fusahā*, p. 62, is as follows. This he is said to have written to Shāh Tahmāsp after his arrival in Persia :

خسروا عمریست تا عتقای عالی همت
قله قاف قناعت را نشیمن کرده است
روز گاری سقائه گندم نمای جز فروش
طوطی طبع مرا قانع به ارزن کرده است
دشمنم شیر است و عمری پشت بر من کرده بود
حالیا از روی خصوصی روی بر من کرده است
دارم اکنون التماس از شه که تا با من کند
انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ارزن کرده است

It may be noted that the last line with but slight variation occurs in Salīmān Sāwajī's '*qit'a*' as follows :

از خدا آمید دارم شاه با ما آن کند
انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ارزن کرده است

Also, he is said to have sent to the Shāh a '*rubā'i*' of which only one line could be traced as under :

شاهان همه سایه همای خواهند بنگر که هما آمده در سایه تو

To this the Shāh's reply was the following :

همای ارج سعادت بدام ما افتد اگر ترا گزید در مقام ما افتد

Once during his flight to Persia, Mullā Hairatī,
 a poet of Trans-Caspian Province,
 presented him with a '*ghazal*' of which
 the opening lines ran thus :

His poetic insight : corrects
 Hairatī and
 Jāhī.¹

گه دل از عشق بتان گه جگرم میسوزن
 عشق هر لحظه بداغ دگرم میسوزن
 همچو پروانه به شمع سروکار است مرا
 که اگر بیش روم بال و پرم میسوزن

Sometimes the heart burns with the love of
 the beautiful, sometimes the liver,
 Love every second burns me with a fresh scar ;
 Like the moth I have my affair with a candle
 lamp,
 That if I go further, my wing and feather
 burn.

Humāyūn improving on the last hemistich put it
 as follows :

میروم بیش اگر بال و پرم میسوزن

¹ Both were notable poets of Persian language and received favours from Humāyūn. The latter having entered into his service at Cābul accompanied him to India, and remained here till his death which occurred in 956 A. H. For a fuller account of his life and verses refer Badā'ūnī, Vol. I, pp. 477—480.

² Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS. No. 223, fol. 12b.

On another occasion he improved on Jāhī Yatmi-yān of Bukhārā, who had entered his service at Cabul. The former had composed a satire on Muhammad Khān Shāpūr and was asked by Humāyūn to read it before the assembly in which Muhammad Khān also was present. When the poet recited the following verses:

شاعر شاه همايونم و خاک در گه¹
 ميزند کوبه شاعریم طعنه به به
 وای آنکس که بخیل شعرا بستیزد
 هر که باما بستیزد ببلای بستیزد

I am the poet of the King Humāyūn, and am
 the dust of his court,
 The star of the banner of my poetry taunts
 the moon;
 Alas for him who picks a quarrel with the
 band of poets,
 Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with
 calamity.

Humāyūn at once remarked :

چرا همچنين نميگوئي "هر که باما بستيزد بخدا
 بستيزد"

Why dost thou not say so, "whoever quarrels
 with us quarrels with God"?

¹ Badā'uni, Vol. I, p. 477.

² Ibid.

He has been often referred to by Jauhar and Mirzā 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī as reading the Qur'ān and also quoting from memory several verses from same on various occasions. His knowledge of Arabic. Once on gaining victory over the Afghāns he recited the verse :

أَلْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَحْيَانَا

Praise be to Him Who brought us to life.

On another occasion he quoted from the *Traditions* as follows :

مَنْ حَفَرَ بَيْراً لِأَخِيهِ فَقَدْ وَقَعَ فِيهِ²

He who dug a pit for his brother, verily himself fell into it.

Some more instances are to be found in the works of contemporary authors like Bā-Yazīd and Jauhar. They show to a certain extent his knowledge in Arabic as well as his taste for religious literature.

From his very childhood he evinced a taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy, and took regular lessons on these branches of Science from Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, and Maulānā Ilyās :

His taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy.

¹ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 37a.

² Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqī'at, B.M. MSS., Add. 16, 711. fol. 78b.

¹ و در هم امسال فرمان عالیشان باسم شیخ ابوالقاسم
استرآبادی که علم ریاضی را خوب میدانست صادر شده
بود..... و حضرت تعظیم شیخ ابوالقاسم (بسیار می
کردند) بجهت اینکه قرار داده بودند که شاگرد او شوند
و سبق بخوانند و آخر بموجب قرار دادن عمل فرمودند و
حکیم مشارالیه در سلك سپاهیان در آمده در هند بجایگزین
خوب سرفراز گشت -

And in this very year the royal mandate in the name of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī who knew the science of Mathematics well, had been issued. And His Majesty had resolved to become his pupil and take lessons from him, and at last His Majesty according to his resolution, acted. And the abovenamed scientist, having entered into His Majesty's service in the link of soldiers, was installed in a good ' *jāgir* ' in India.

Abul Fazl and Farishta write thus :

² در اقسام علوم ریاضی آنحضرت را پایه بلند بود
و همواره به ارباب حکمت صمیمت میداشتند و ممتازان
علم ریاضی در پایه سریر والا کامیاب سعادت بودند

¹ Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 24b

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.

And in the branches of Mathematics His Majesty ranked high and he always associated with scientists and those distinguished in Mathematics had the boon of attending at the foot of the sublime throne.

۱. و در علم ریاضی علم مهارت می افراشت مدار صحبتش
با علما و فضلا بود و همه وقت در مجلس او مسایل علمی
مذکور میشد -

And in the science of Mathematics he lifted up the banner of skill. His social intercourse was based with the learned and the accomplished ; and at all times in his assembly scientific problems were discussed.

In history he appears to have been conversant with the Muslim periods of different countries specially India, Central Asia, and Arabia. Once he related a historical anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghazni's army to serve as a lesson to his own men purporting that honesty is the key to success.²

Also, he transcribed in his own handwriting his father's autobiography ' *Wāqī'āt i Bāburī* ' from the beginning to the end. This would have

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 459.

² Cf. the statement :

حضرت پادشاه این حکایت به مردم خود اظهار کردند که نیت نیک اینچنین

ثمره میدهد چون نیت سلطان صادق بود هم فتح ارزانی شد و هم گنج یافت -

[Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqī'at, B.M., MSS. Add. 16711, fol. 105b.]

certainly given him an insight into the social and political relations of the contemporary Central Asian States. He also developed a taste for Geography and had globes constructed for his use :

۱ پس کرهٔ خاک و آب انتظام و تقسیم ربع مسکون
به اقالیم سبعة وقوع یافته بود

So the globes of the earth and the water had been set up, and the divisions of the habitable quarter into seven regions accomplished.

His tutors in Astronomy were Mullā Nūraddīn, and Maulānā Ilyās. The keen interest which he

His tutors in Astronomy, and his interest and activities in this branch of science.

took in this branch of science is significant as compared with his father's as well as with that of his successors in India. Bābur and pre-Bābur Mughals, (with the exception of 'Ulūgh Bēg²)

down to his own time, apparently had little faith or

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 361.

² Son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Timūr, had been appointed as governor of *Māwarā un Nahr* during his father's lifetime. He was a devoted student of Astronomy, Mathematics, and Philosophy, and a patron of those interested in scientific subjects. During his governorship he got built at Samarcand an Observatory which was called after his name. He also marked the position of stars and recorded his observations in a separate volume known as '*Zij-i-'Ulūgh Beg*' (or 'Ulūgh Beg's Almanac). Daulat Shāh has given a glorious account of 'Ulūgh Bēg's scientific

knowledge in things astrological. He got built a 'Khargāh' (a tent) which was divided into twelve halls of audience, each of which was named after one of the twelve constellations of stars. The furniture and paintings of these halls, as also the dresses of the servants, bore emblematic symbol of the planets :

۱ واز جمله مخترعات شریفه آنحضرت خرگاهه یون
که بعد از بروج سپهر مشتمل بر دوازده قسمت بوده
هر برج مشتمل بر بنجرها که انوار کواکب دولت از
نقبهای آن تابان یون و خرگاهه دیگر مانند فلک الافلاک
جمع جوانب این خرگاهه را احاطه نموده یون -

And of all the inventions of His Majesty was a tent which was divided, according to the number of the zodiacs of the sky, into twelve divisions. Every zodiac was divided into cages, from the holes of which the rays of the stars of Fortune shone bright. And another tent like the 'falakul aflāk' (or the sky of skies) enveloped the sides of this tent.

activities and his great achievements in the theoretical and applied Astronomy. According to him there has appeared no monarch like 'Ulūgh Bēg, in the whole history of Islām. [vide Tazkiratush Shu'arā—Edited by Prof. Browne—Account of 'Ulūgh Bēg, pp. 361—6]. For a description of a Calendar based on 'Ulūgh Bēg's system, vide Carre de Vaux's article 'Un Calendrier Turque' in Essays presented to Professor E. G. Browne, edited by T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson.

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 361.

Also, he got ready a carpet which had nine astronomical circles marked on it, each of which was named after a particular star, and assigned to his courtiers according to their ranks :

¹ و از مخترعات آنحضرت بساط نشاط بود و آن بساط مستدیر مشتمل بود بر دایره افلاک و کرات عناصر، دایره اول (که منسوب بود بفلک اطلس) سفید رنگ واقع شده بود و دوم کبود و سیوم بمناسبت زحل سیاه و چهارم (که مکل برجیس است) صندلی و پنجم (که متعلق به بهرام است) اعلی و ششم (که خانه فیراعظم است) زریں و هفتم (که منزل ناهید است) سبز روشن و هشتم (که جای عطارد است) سوسنی و دایره نهم (که منزل قمر است) سفید است و بعد از دایره قمر کرهٔ نار و هوا بترتیب مرتب گشته خود به نفس نفیس دایرهٔ زریں را اختیار میفرمودند و آنجا سریر آرای خلافت میشدند و هر طایفه از منسوبات کواکب سبعة سیاره را در دایرهٔ (که بارای آن وضع کرده شده) بنشستن حکم میفرمودند مثلاً امرای هندی را در دایرهٔ زحل و سادات و علما را در دایرهٔ مشتری

And of the inventions of his Majesty was a pleasure carpet, and that spherical carpet was divided into the circles of the sky and the globes of the Elements. The first circle

¹ Ibid.

(which was attributed to ' *falak i atlas* ') was white in colour ; and the second was blue ; and the third in appropriateness with Saturn was black ; and the fourth (which is the resort of Jupiter) was of sandal colour ; and the fifth (which is related to Mars) was of ruby colour ; and the sixth (which is the abode of the Sun) golden ; and the seventh (which is the resting place of Venus) bright green ; and the eighth (which is the place of Mercury) is of lily colour ; and the ninth circle (which is the halt of the Moon) is white. And after the circle of the moon the spheres of the fire and the air were arranged in order. His Majesty for himself adopted the golden circle, and there seated himself on the throne, and every group of people, from among those assigned to the seven planets, was ordered by his Majesty to sit in a circle (which was constructed just opposite to that planet) for instance, the Indian ' *Umarā* ' were ordered to sit in the circle of Saturn, and the learned in that of Jupiter.

۱ و از شرایف اختراعات آنحضرت پوشیدن لباس
هر روز بود موافق رنگی که منسوب بکوکب روز است
که مریی اوست چنانچه در روز یکشنبه خلعت زر می
پوشیدند که منسوب به نیراعظم است و در روز دوشنبه
لباس سبز که منسوب بقمر است و برین قیاس -

¹ Ibid.

And among the excellent inventions of his Majesty was the dress for each day in accordance with the colour attributed to the planet of that day which is its patron, so that on Sunday his Majesty robed himself in yellow which is attributed to the Sun, and on Monday in green which is attributed to the Moon, and so on.

He was also preparing to build an observatory for which necessary apparatus and the site had Materials ready for an observatory. been provided, but owing to his sudden death, the same could not be accomplished:

و آنحضرت را اراده بستن رصد مضمون بود و بسیار
از آلات رصدی ترتیب داده بودند و چند مکمل رصد
خیال فرموده بودند -

And his Majesty was firmly resolved to build an observatory and had set up in order many of the instruments for same and had fixed in his mind a few sites as well.

All this taste he acquired in Indian atmosphere evidently under the influence of Hindū astrology which came into contact with Persian astrology for the first time under the patronage of a Mughal emperor. Like the *Pandits* he believed in the efficacy of the stars and their potentiality in producing good or bad results in consequence of which

¹ Ibid., p. 368.

he had regulated all his actions according to the supposed influence of the twelve zodiacs and the seven planets. His keenness for astronomical researches has been further described as follows by the Turkish Admiral who was himself made to work on same, and permitted to leave India subject only to the work being finished:

“The roads are flooded and impassable, remain therefore till the weather improves.

Turkish Admiral's evidence. Meanwhile calculate Solar and Lunar Eclipses, their degree of Latitude, and their exact

date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers in studying the course of the Sun, and instruct us concerning the points of the Equator. When all this is done and the weather should improve before three months are over, thou shalt go hence”. . . All this was said solemnly and decisively, I had no alternative but must submit to my fate. At last I had accomplished the astronomical observations, and about the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh.¹

¹ A. Vambéry, *Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Alī, Re'īs*, p. 48. The part played by astrological terms in the development of the more ornate forms of later Persian is perhaps one of its most remarkable features.

CHAPTER III

There were many foreign and Indian poets attached to his court. The following is a selected list of scholars including historians and poets of Persian and Hindi, who received his patronage or actually entered his service in India :

Poets and scholars of his reign.

1. Shaikh Amānullāh Pānipatī
2. Shaikh Gadā'ī Dehlevī
3. Mīr Waist
4. Shaikh Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī
5. Maulānā Jalālī Hindī
6. Maulānā bin i Ashraf al Husainī
7. Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī
8. Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī
9. Maulānā Ilyās
10. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī
11. Maulānā Junūbī
12. Shāh Tāhir Dakhani
13. Shaikh Abul Wājīd Fāriḡhī Shirāzī
14. Yūsuf bin i Muhammad Hirawī
15. Khwāja Ayyūb, son of Khwāja Abul Barakāt
16. Maulānā Muhammad Fāzil Samarqandī
17. Jauhar
18. Bā Yazīd

19. Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī
20. Khwāja Husain Mervī
21. An unknown poet : author of an epic poem.

A short description of each is given below :

A learned Sūfī and theologian—resident of Pānīpat—was one of Humāyūn's chief poets, and wrote several *gasāid* in praise of him.

Shāikh
Amānullāh
Pānīpatī, His style is comparatively simple and his poetry sweet and full of pathos.

Some specimens of his composition are as follows:

مدام از حسرت آن لعل میگو
دلے دارم صراحی وار پرخون
تو چوں ایلی مقیم خلوت ناز
منم آواره عالم چو مکنون
گر از تن جان بصد حسرت بر آید
زدل مهرت نخواهد رفت بیرون
امانی کامران در دزم عیش است
بعهد خسرو دوران همایون

Always in fond desire for that wine-coloured
ruby,
I have a heart like the wine-jug full of
blood;
Thou like Lailā resideth in the seclusion
of daintiness,

¹ 'Alī Qulī Walīh Dāghistānī, *Riyāz ush Shu'arā*, B.M. MSS.
Add. 16, 729, fol. 44b.

I roam the world like Majnūn ;
 Though the soul leaves the body with a
 hundredfold remorse,
 From my heart thy love will not depart ;
 Amānī is happy in the assembly of pleasure,
 In the reign of the king of the world,
 Humāyūn.

On Mirzā Hindāl's death, which occurred in a night attack led by Kamrān's troops against Humāyūn's camp which was situated near Surkhāb, Amānī wrote the following chronogram, and presented it to his Majesty :

شاه ہندال سر و گلشن ناز^۱
 چوں ازیں بوستان مکنیت رفت
 گفت تاریخ قمری نالان
 سروے از بوستان دولت رفت

Shāh Hindāl, the cypress of the garden of
 daintiness,
 When he went away from this garden of toil;
 The lamenting dove uttered the date,
 'A cypress went away from the royal garden.'

Besides this, he composed other chronograms as well, and was chiefly noted in his day for his skill in same. He has been mentioned in this connection by Bā Yazīd who styles him as *Amānī*, *Manīja* and quotes one of his most beautiful chronograms which

¹ Badaūnī, Vol. I, p. 454.

he had composed on the death of Sultān Chaghtā'i, a young Mughal chief who was a favourite of Humāyūn:

سلطان چغتای بود گل گلشن خوبی
 ناگه اجلش سوی جهان راه نمودن شد
 در موسم گل عزم سفر کرد ازین باغ
 دل غنچه صفت در غم او غرقه بخون شد
 تاریخ وے از بلبل ماتم زده جست
 در ناله شد و گفت گل از باغ برون شد

Sultān Chaghtā'i was the flower of the
 garden of excellence,
 All of a sudden Death led him on the way
 to Paradise;
 In the season of flowers he resolved to go
 from this garden,
 The heart like the bud drowned in blood in
 his grief;
 The date of his departure I sought from the
 grief-stricken nightingale,
 It went into lamentation and said, 'a flower
 went out of the garden.'

He was one of the greatest scholars of Humāyūn's reign, and was the son of the famous poet Shaikh Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh of Sultān Sikandar Gadā'i Deh-
 Lodi's court. He spent much of his
 early life in acquiring knowledge
 and in lecturing to students of moral philosophy

and logic in Gujarāt. In the year of Humāyūn's death, he repaired to the court of Akbar at the invitation of Bairām Khān, and was raised through the latter's special favour to the high rank of '*sadārat*.'¹ This installation of the Shaikh was chiefly due to his past loyal services to Bairām Khān during his stay in Gujarāt where he had gone on a special mission in the reign of Humāyūn. His alliance with Bairām Khān which gave him ample shelter and scope for showing favours to his own followers and disciples by appointing them to responsible posts, led him subsequently to interfere with the politics of the State, and he became a zealous member of a political party against Akbar. Abul Fazl as a loyal supporter of Akbar's interests condemns the Shaikh as a mischief-maker and a rebel.² His power and influence came to an end with the fall of Bairām Khān. As a scholar he still remained prominent. So great was the fame of his learning that scholars from Māwarā un Nahr, 'Irāq, and Khurāsān, used to come to India for an

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 21.

² Cf. the statement :

..... باتفاق شرر بختان مثل ولی بیگ فوالقدر و شیخ گدائی
 کینو اندیشہاے ثناء بخاطر آردہ خیالات خام بختن گرفت و چور
 باطن نورانی حضرت شاہنشاہی پر خدایع ایں گردہ کافر نعمت آگاہی
 یافت پیش از آنکہ ایں گردہ گمراہ بدکردار خیال فاسد خون ظاہر
 سازند الخ

interview with him.¹ He is the first notable example in the reign of Humāyūn to combine the knowledge of Arabic and Persian with that of Hindi. In Persian he wrote chiefly '*ghazal*' of which a specimen is given below :

گه جان منزل غم شد گه دل
 غمت را میبرم منزل بمنزل
 مشو غافل ز حال درد مندی
 که از حال تو یکدم نیست غافل
 دل دیوانه در زلف تو بستم
 گرفتارم بان مشکین سلاسل
 بجان دادن اگر آسان شدی کار
 نبودی عاشقان را هیچ مشکل
 گدائی جان بفاکامی بر آمد
 نشد کام ز لعل یار حاصل

Sometimes the soul was the abode of love,
 sometimes the heart,
 I carry thy love from place to place ;
 Be not remiss to the need of one, grief-
 stricken,
 For he forgets not thee for a moment ;

¹ Cf :

و چند سال مرجع اکابر و افاضل هندوستان و خراسان و ماوراءالنهر
 و عراق بوده

[Badā'uni, Vol. III, p. 76.]

² Ibid.

I tied my infatuated heart to thy curly lock,
I am ensnared in that musky chain;
If by surrendering one's life the task would
become easy,
To lovers no difficulty would have remained ;
O Gadā'i, life ended with failure,
My object was not achieved from the ruby
lips of the beloved.

He also composed verses in Hindī, and often sang them before his compatriots in Hindī tune.' He died in 976 A. H., twelve years after the death of Humāyūn.

He was one of the grandees of the court of Humāyūn, and is stated, like Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī of Mir Waisl. Sultān Husain's court, or 'Abdurrahīm Khān i Khānān of the reign of Akbar, to be a patron of poets and scholars of his time. He had a fine taste for poetry, and every now and then arranged poetical assemblies in which he personally took part. On one occasion he composed a marvellous ode of which the opening line is as follows :

۲ امیدوار چنانم که شرمساری من
شود به پیش تو عذر گناهگاری من

¹ Cf. the statement:

و طابع نظم داشته و نقش و صوت هندی می بست و می گفت

[Ibid.]

² Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 479a.

I hope so much that my penitence,
May serve before thee as an excuse for my
sin.

One instance of his *qit'a* writing is to be found in the following chronogram which he composed on the death of Mirzā Kāmṛān at Mecca :

اشه کامران خسرو نامدار
که در سلطنت سربکیوان رساند
مجاور شد اندر حرم چار سال
بکلی دل از قید عالم رهاوند
ز بعد وقوف حج چار میں
باحرام حج جان بجانان فشانند
چو در خواب ویسی در آمد شبی
عنایت نمود و سوے خویش خوانند
بگفت از بپرسندت از فوت ما
بگو - شاه مرحوم در کعبه ماند

The king Kāmṛān, the renowned monarch,
Who through rule...raised his head to Saturn;
Became a sojourner in the *harem* for four
years,
Freed his heart completely from the prison
of this world;
After the realization of the fourth *haj*,
In the *ihrām* of *haj* entrusted his soul to the
Beloved;

When one night he appeared in Waisi's dream,
 He showed kindness and called him near ;
 Then said, " if they ask thee about my decease,
 Say, the blessed king remained in Ka'ba."

His poetry, as seen from the above, is simple and melodious, and was but slightly affected by the current poetic tendencies at the court.

Like Shaikh Gadā'i he too was a Hindī-Persian poet, and a scholar of varied accomplishments. On

Shaikh 'Ab- account of constant reading and writ-
 dul Wāhid Bil- ing his sight became weak. Badāūnī
 grāmī. interviewed him at Qannauj in 977 A.H.,

when the Shaikh on account of his old age had confined himself to his native place. His chief works are the following :

1. A commentary on *Nuzhat ul Arwāh*¹ which Badāūnī praises as authentic.
2. *Sanābil*—a treatise on the technical terms of Sūfism.

In his last days he was much devoted to Sūfism, and wrote several works on that subject. He also composed Hindī verses and sang them in Hindī tune. In Persian composition he paid more attention to 'ghazal' and wrote elegant verses in same. The chief feature of his poetry, as is commonly observed in contemporary writers, is the frequent use of figures of speech with an attempt to create niceties in them. Once he wrote a 'ghazal' with a flexible turn of phrase

¹ A work on Sūfism by a celebrated scholar Fakhrus Sa'adat, written in the early part of the eighth century A.H. at Herāt.

and fancy in praise of his dear friend named Rāja.
The opening line is worth noticing :

اے کردہ خیال توبہ تخت دل ما جا
ہرگز نبود در دل ما غیر ترا جا

O thou, whose thought has made its seat on
the throne of my heart,
Never in my heart is there place for other
than thee.

Another beautiful verse quoted by Badāūnī is as follows :

مرر بجنگ چو اول بصلح آمد
دمی بلطف نشیں تا ز خویش برخیزم

A poet of Humāyūn's court—chiefly known for his lyric poetry and enigma-writing both in Hindi and Persian. Two of his '*ghazals*,' of which the opening lines are as follows, are specially noteworthy as serving to illustrate the tendency of average poets towards introducing original and creative ideas with flexible shifts :

Maulānā Jalī Hindi.

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 66.

[Note the play on the Hindi word Rāja (राजा) and its ingenious fusion into the Persian compound (توراجا) which may equally be read as (توراجا) making it a Persian-Hindi compound with a welcome shift in meaning.

زاهد ز جام باده لعل تو مست شد
روے تو دید عاشق و آتش پرست شد

The devotee got intoxicated from the cup of
the wine of thy ruby (lip),
The lover saw thy face and became a fire-
worshipper.

وعدۀ وصل تو اے ماه بعید افتاده است
وہ کہہ ایں وعدہ چہ بسیار بعید افتاده است

Thy promise of union, O moon, has fallen on
the 'Īd,
Oh, on what a distant date this promise has
fallen!

He flourished in India under Bābur and Humāyūn,
and was among the literati of their courts. He

Muhammad
Ibn i Ashraf
al Husaini ar
Rustamdāri.

was a student of natural science in
which he seemed to take great interest.
His work entitled '*Jawāhir nāma i
Humāyūnī*'³ which he dedicated jointly
to the father and the son⁴ is a dissertation on the

¹ Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 109b.

² Ibid.

³ Or., 1717, B.M. MSS.

⁴ Cf. the statement:

چنین گوید مصنف این رسالہ... محمد ابن اشرف الحسینی الرستم داری
... کہ دریں اوقات کہ اعلیٰ حضرت ابو الغازی ظہیر الدین محمد بابر
پادشاه خلخالہ ملکہ... تمام ممالک ہندوستان را در تحت لوای
عرش آسای خود در آورده... مناسب بود بلکہ واجب خیال نمود
کہ رسالہ فاخرہ در باب جواہر مرتب ساختہ موشعہ بالقاب سامی نامی
پادشاه و پادشاہزادگان..... الخ -

use and formation of precious stones and other mineral. It is divided into 22 chapters as follows :

Preface	Foll. 1a-4b	A short discourse on the divisions of natural objects.
Chapter I	„ 4b-11a.	On 'lūlū' (pearl).
„ II	„ 11a-15b.	On 'ya'qūt' (sapphire)
„ III	„ 15b-19a.	On 'la'ī' (ruby)
„ IV	„ 19a-21b	On 'zāmurrad' (emerald) and 'zabarjad' (topaz)
„ V	„ 21b-22b.	On 'zabarjad' (topaz)
„ VI	„ 22b-26b.	On 'almās' (diamond)
„ VII	„ 26b-27b.	On 'ainul hur' (cat's eye)
„ VIII	„ 27b-31b.	On 'firūza' (turquoise)
„ IX	„ 31b-42b.	On 'pā-zahr' ¹
„ X	„ 42b-43b.	On 'aqīq' (cornelian)
„ XI	„ 43b-45a.	On 'other' stones of the same family.
„ XII	„ 45a-45b.	On 'Jaza' (a kind of stone)
„ XIII	„ 45b-48b.	On 'maqnātīs' (magnet)
„ XIV	„ 48b-49a.	On 'sundbāda' (a stone used for polishing metal)
„ XV	„ 49a-50a.	On 'dahāna' (a mineral)
„ XVI	„ 50a-53a.	On 'lājward' (lapiz lazuli)
„ XVII	„ 53a-55b.	On busud wa marjān (corals and pearls)
„ XVIII	„ 55b-57b.	On 'yashab' (jasper)
„ XIX	„ 57b-58b.	On 'billūr' (crystal)
„ XX	„ 58b-59a.	On 'kān' (mine)
„ XXI	„ 59a-69a.	On miscellaneous kinds of stones
„ XXII	„ 69a-77b.	On metals

¹ A charmed stone said to be found in the head of serpents and is reputed as an antidote for all kinds of poison.

It was undertaken in the reign of Bābur some-time after his conquest of Hindūstān,¹ and finished under the patronage of Humāyūn and presented to him.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and Persian. He came to Āgra from Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandi. Samarqand and was given a place among the elite of the court. Badāūnī's remark about his scholarship is as follows :

مولانا نادري سمرقندي..... از نوا در روزگار و فاضل
و جامع کامل بود -

Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandi was among the rarities of the age, and was a highly learned and accomplished scholar.

As a poet of Persian language he built up a reputation and wrote all kinds of poetry including 'ghazal' *rubā'ī* and 'qasīda.' A specimen of each is given below :

Ghazal :

شوه چه خرام است قد یار را
بنده شوم آن قد و رفتار را
یار سوسه ما به ترحم ندید
داشت مگر جانب اغیار را
سوسه خرابات گذر نادري
در سر می کن سرو دستار را

¹ Vide Supra, p. fn. 2.

² Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 472.

³ Ibid.

How charming is the gait and the form of
the beloved,

I would become a slave to that form and gait ;
The beloved did not look on us with pity,
Perhaps he cherished a regard for the rivals ;
Go towards the tavern O Nādirī !

Yield your head and turban to the thought of
wine.

His composition was not without subtleties which had been largely introduced in India under the patronage of the Mughal court. The following verse which he composed in praise of one Nizām, with whom he is said to have been in love, is illustrative of the popular taste and the atmospheric tendencies in the art of composition :

من دل شکسته گویم صفت نظام نامی
که نداشت بیوصالش دل ناتوان نظامی

I the broken-hearted utter the praise of the
one named Nizām,
For my weak heart did not keep order (*nizām*)
without union with him.

سر کویت که عمری بودم آنجا
بعمر خون کلجا آسودم آنجا

¹ Ibid., p. 472.

² Ibid., p. 473.

NOTE.—The second hemistich of the first line may also be translated as 'I swear by my life when did I get rest there' ?

بقصد سجده هر جا سر نهادم
 تو بودی کعبه مقصودم آنجا
 جهانی مکرم و من مانده مکروم
 همه مقبول و من مردودم آنجا
 چه پر سی نادری چونی در آن کو
 گهرے ناخوش گهرے خوش بودم آنجا

At the top of thy lane where I have lived a
 lifetime,
 When did I get rest in my whole life ?
 With the intent of prostration where'er I
 laid my head,
 Thou wast the Ka'ba of my object there ;
 What dost thou ask, 'O Nādirī, how farest
 thee in that lane' ?
 Sometimes unhappy and sometimes happy
 was I there.

Rubā'ī

رنجورم و در دل از تو دارم صد غم^۱
 بے لعل لبث حریف در دم همه دم
 زین عمر ملولم من مسکین غریب
 خواهم شون آرام گهم کوے عدم

Grief-stricken I am, and I possess in my
 heart a hundred sorrows from thee,
 Without the ruby of thy lip I am faced with
 anguish all the moments ;

^۱ Ibid., p. 472.

In this life am melancholy, I, the humble
and the indigent,
My place of rest shall be the lane of annihi-
lation.

One of his '*qasā'id*,' in which he delineated on Humāyūn's taste for Mathematics and his prepossessions for science, is as follows. It is as well illustrative of the general style and the standard obtained in the art of '*qasīda*' writing :

۱ المنة لله که بجمیعت خاطر
با عیش نشستند حریفان معاصر
گلزار تماشاگه خلق است که آنجا
در حضرت گل بلبل غایب شده حاضر
عریان ز خزان بود مگر شاهد بستان
کز خرقة صد پاره گل دوخته ساق
یکجاست گل و یاسمن و سنبل و ریحان
سلطان بهار آمده باخیل و عساکر
مرغان صفت شاه فلک مرتبه خوانان
بر شاخ درختان چو خطیبان منابر
خاقان معظم شه جم قدر همایون
کش هست قوی دست دل از قدرت قادر
از دانش او دانش اصحاب بصیرت
وزینش او بینش ارباب بصائر
منهر چو حرام است در احکام شریعت

¹ Ibid. p. 473.

اقبال نماید بمراعات • اوامر
 جمع آمده بهر ظفر لشکر اسلام
 آحاد سپاهش ز دلیران عسا کر
 زیر علم فتح بمیدان سعادت
 بادش کرم لم یزلی حافظ و ناصر
 اے تا کف چون تو قوام همه اشیا
 قایم بدم تیغ تو اعراض و جواهر
 در روز ازل بون خداوند جہاں را
 مقصود وجود تو ازین چنبر دایر
 جبریل اگر بار دگر وحی بیار
 در شان تو ظاهر شود آیات ظواهر
 هر نکته حکمت که لب لعل تو فرمود
 مشهور جہاں شد چو حدیث متواتر
 مبنی است کہ شرح کتب فن ریاضی است
 تصنیف متین تو ز ایجاد دوایر
 کس دانش بسیار ترا چون کند انکار
 افکار بدیہی نکند غیر مکابر
 احصای کمالات تو کردن نتوانم
 کاندہ همه فنہا شدہ کامل و ماعر
 با عقل حکیمانہ و اقبال تو دارم
 نفس ملکی نسبت اجناس مشاہر
 چون تو بنوعیست کہ در ساعت بگشش
 نا خواستہ دانی ہمہ حاجات ضامیر

He died in 966 A. H., and the following chronogram was written by Mr. Amānī Kāblī:

وَا حَسْرَتَا كَه نَادِرِي نَكْتَه دَاں نَمَانَد
 اَنْ نَادِرِي كَه دَاډ سَكْن دَاډ دَرَجِهَان
 . جَسْتَم بِرَسْم تَعْمِيَه تَارِيخِ فَوْتِ او
 گَفْتَا خَرَد كَه رَفْت يَكِه از سَكْنَوَرَان

He was appointed by Humāyūn as tutor to the young prince Akbar at Cābul, after Mullā Pir Muhammad.² On Humāyūn's second entry into Hindūstān he was invited by the latter to come to Āgra, and on his arrival in 963 A.H., just after Humāyūn's death, was received by Akbar with marks of greatest favour and kindness.³ His father Qāzī Yahyā was well-read in history and enjoyed the fame of a historian in his lifetime. He is said to have known by heart the various Muslim dynasties that ruled in Central Asia, Turkey, and Hindūstān. Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, eulogises his wonderful memory and historical insight in the following complimentary verse :

قصهٔ تَارِيخِ ازو بَايَد شنيد
 كَس دَرِيں تَارِيخِ مِثْلِ او نَدِيد

¹ Ibid., p. 475.

² Farishta, Vol. I, p. 466.

³ Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 19.

⁴ Badā'uni, Vol. III, p. 97.

The tale of history ought to be heard from
him,

None in the present day has seen any one
like him.

Mir 'Abdul Latif himself, like his father, was deeply interested in history, and it was probably due to his command of the subject that he received his appointment as tutor to the young prince. It is noteworthy that his younger brother Mir 'Alā'ud-daula Qazwīnī, who was trained and brought up under the fostering care of his elder brother, was equally a fine historian, and wrote the famous work '*Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*' from which both Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have derived their material for the literary phase of Humāyūn's reign.

He was a student of Mathematics and Astronomy, and was unrivalled in his day for his knowledge in those two branches of science. He acted as tutor to Humāyūn, and taught him lessons on Astronomy. It was due mostly to the training received under him that Humāyūn subsequently developed a considerable taste for that science. Badāūnī tells us that he was proficient in the subject and thoroughly capable of erecting an Observatory.¹ Once when he happened to visit Ardabil in the latter part of his life, he wrote a letter to Shāh Isma'īl II (whom Shāh Tahmāsp

¹ Cf. the statement :

مولانا ایلکس... کہ استاد ہمایوں پادشاہ و لیاقت و استعداد
رصد بینی داشت الخ

[Ibid., p. 131.]

had in his lifetime imprisoned in the fort of 'Qahqaha'), saying that from the confluence of stars it transpires that he (Shāh Isma'il II) would succeed to the throne and that his other opponents would soon be vanquished. In that letter he also directed Shāh Isma'il to visit him at Ardabil on his release from the prison so that he might put him under the right stars which would lead to his future glory and uninterrupted retention of power. But the latter, while passing Ardabil in procession, on being released by his party in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of his arch-rival Haidar Mirzā, forgot to see the Maulānā, and having gone some distance subsequently recollected the prediction and suddenly turned back and called at the Maulānā's house. The Maulānā locked the door from inside but the Shāh managed to get in by climbing over the wall. Thereupon the Maulānā covered his face and refused to see him saying that the hour appointed was gone and the opportunity lost, since the planets had just moved from their position. The Shāh then was obliged to leave, and though proclaimed king at Qazwīn, yet strange to say that after a year's successful reign, he met his tragic death in a confectioner's house in 985 A.H. It was surmised that he was poisoned at night when under the intoxication of opium, in consequence of the cruelties which he had inflicted on his house and the court.¹

¹ Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 517, London, 1815.

He was a distinguished scholar and a favourite poet of Humāyūn. As the latter he wrote all kinds of poetry, and compiled a separate *Ma ul ā n ā* 'diwān' consisting of 'qasida,' 'masna-
Qāsim Kāhī. wī,' and 'ghazal.' He stands a contrast with his fellow-poets in easiness of style and use of simple and plain language. The sweetness inherent in his poetry is hardly approached by any one of his contemporaries. He composed several 'qasā'id' and 'qit'āt' in praise of Humāyūn. The following chronogram which he wrote on the emperor's death is reproduced by Jauhar as one of the finest ever written :

۱ همایون پادشاه آن آفتابی
که فیض شامل او عام افتاد
بنای دولتش چون یافت رفعت
اساس عمرش از انجام افتاد

¹ Tazkirat ul Wāqī 'āt, B M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 144a.

NOTE.—Mirza 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī, author of Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, quotes only three verses of which only one is common. The other two are as follows :

همایون پادشاه ملک و معنی ندارد کس چو او شاهنشاهی یاد
ز بام قصر خود افتاد نا گه از آن عمر عزیزش رفت برباد

The same is reproduced by Badāūnī, and quoted by Prof. Browne. It is noteworthy that the last line which is the chronogram of Humāyūn's death gives the year 962. But the death actually took place in 963 A H., and the chronogram is therefore short by 1 year.

چو خورشید ے جہانتاب از بلندی
 بپایاں در نماز شام افتاد
 جہاں تاریک شد در چشم مردم
 خلل در کار خاص و عام افتاد
 بی تاریخ او کاهی رقم زد
 ”ہمایوں پادشاہ از بام افتاد“

Humāyūn, the king, is that sun,
 Whose all-embracing bounty fell common to
 all;
 The structure of his power, when it attained
 its height,
 The foundation of his life fell from its base;
 Like the world-illuminating sun from its
 height,
 Down below at the time of evening prayer he
 fell;
 The world became dark in the eyes of the
 people,
 On the work of the high and the low confu-
 sion fell;
 For the date thereof Kāhī wrote,
 Humāyūn, the king, from the terrace fell.

Of all the chronograms composed by other poets, this is decidedly the most natural and stands unbeaten in the simplicity of style, accuracy of detail, and beauty of language. Another equally simple and suggestive chronogram which he wrote

on Kāmṛān's death, which took place at Mecca, is as follows :

کامران آنکه پادشاهی را
 کس نبود ست همچو او در خور
 شد ز کابل به کعبه و آنجا
 جان بحق داد و تن ب خاک سپرد
 گفت تاریخ او چنین کاهی
 پادشاه کامران به کعبه مرد

Kāmṛān was such that for the place of king,
 There was none so worthy as he;
 He went from Cābul to Ka'ba, and there,
 Entrusted the soul to the True One, and the
 body to the earth ;

Kāhī wrote the chronogram thus :

'The king Kāmṛān died in Ka'ba.'

Abul Fazl calls him Miyān Kālē and counts him among the foremost poets of Akbar's court. Badāūnī, too, though points out his certain faults as a poet, thinks him unrivalled in his day in the essential features of poetry and in the composition of chronograms. He had also associated for some time with Jāmī at Herāt, and acquired there a competent knowledge of the commentary of the Qur'ān and mysticism. In the company of Kāmṛān he had gone to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage. For all this Badāūnī thinks him an atheist and finds him guilty

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.

of gross religious and moral offences.¹ It is amusing, however, to note that his composed poems were universally popular and sung even in Badāūnī's time in the assemblies of the Sūfis.² The opening lines of some of his odes are as follows. They are unsurpassed in poetic grace and are to be classed among the best productions :

بیه ناز کشت جهانی بت ستمگر من³

هنوز بر سر ناز است ناز پرور من

My relentless love has slain a whole world
with his daintiness,

Still he, the cherisher of my temper, is
carrying on his amorous playfulness.

نه نرگس است عیان بر سر مزار مرا⁴

سفید شد بر هت چشم انتظار مرا

¹ NOTE.—Badāūnī's displeasure is probably due to the poet's acceptance of Akbar's heresies, for Abul Fazl calls him a disciple of the emperor, and also hints at his free and unorthodox life. Cf.—

از مشرب نراخی پراگنده چند گرد او فراهم بودی و با چندین وارستگی
خویش پرده آرائی گیتی خداوند خریشتن را از مریدان بر شمردی —
[Ā'in i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 244.]

² Cf. the statement :

و این هر دو غزل را صرفی خرب بسته که در عالم شهره یافته در
مجالس میخوانند و بزم ملوک و اهل سلوک بدان آرایش می یابد —
[Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.]

³ Ibid. Vol. III, p. 174.

NOTE.—Love is often treated by Persian poets as an ideal and then is referred to in masculine terms, in the same way as Cupid is treated in English poetry.

⁴ Ibid.

It is not the narcissus that has displayed
 itself over my grave,
 It is my vigilant eye that has in the long
 expectation of thee turned white.

۱ مرغ تابه فرق مجنوں پر زدن انگیز کرد
 آتش سوداے لیلی بر سر او تیز کرد

The bird since it has started flapping its
 wings over Majnūn's head,
 It has kindled the fire of his love for Lailā
 ever more.

۲ چوں ز عکس عارضش آئینه پر گل شود
 گرد راں آئینه طوطی بنگرد بلبل شود

Since from the reflection of his cheek the
 mirror becomes full of flower,
 If therefore a parrot look into that mirror,
 she would become a nightingale.

۳ ریخت باران بلا برتن غم پرور ما
 چه بلاها که دنیاورد فلک بر سر ما

The rain of distress poured on my grief-worn
 body,
 What calamities did the sky not bring down
 on my head !

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

The following, which is full of romantic similes and metaphors, is in praise of a handsome Yōgi youth:

آتشیں رویت ز خاکستر چو نیلوف شدہ¹
یا نقاب از آتش روے تو خاکستر شدہ

Thy fiery face has become like a lotus through
the ashes smeared on thy face,
Or the veil through the fire of thy face got
burnt into ashes.

In a long '*qasīda*'² he dwelt on Humāyūn's taste for Astronomy and the uses of certain instruments like the 'astrolabe,' and 'compass' etc., which Humāyūn had collected for his contemplated observatory.

¹ Ibid.

NOTE.—It is still the custom of a Hindū Yogi to go about with his face smeared with dust, or ashes.

It may also be observed that the similes employed here are drawn purely from Indian life and surroundings, and the verse is in every aspect Indian in its conception with the creative genius of a poet playing its part under favourable and encouraging circumstances.

² This is the second notable instance to come across after Nādirī's *qasīda* where the genius of a poet took a scientific turn and was spent in describing apparatuses instead of the usual praises of the court. This was done evidently to arrest Humāyūn's attention and to commend their poetry to his notice. They knew that to gain his full appreciation of their verses it was necessary to compose them according to the royal taste. This shows the extent of the influence that the individual taste of a Mughal sovereign in India could exercise over the literati of his court, as also his power to direct and mould the popular taste of the country as a whole.

۱ چوں سایه هم‌هیم بهر سو روان شوی
 باشد که رفته رفته بما مهر بان شوی
 اے پیر عشق صکیت یوسف رخی طلب
 نبون عجب که هم‌چو زلیخا جوان شوی
 کاتی تو بلبل چمن آراے کابلی
 زاغ و زغن نه که به هندوستان شوی

Like a shadow we accompany thee wherever
 thou shouldst go,
 May be that by degrees thou shouldst become
 kind to us ;
 O sage of love, seek the society of one like
 Joseph,
 It is not strange that like Zulaikhā thou
 shouldst become young ;
 O, Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which
 adorns the garden of Cābul,
 Thou art not a *crow* and a *kite* to go to
 Hindūstān.

Soon after his arrival in India, there was a marked change in his tone which was gradually softened into the praises for the court and its literati.

He ranked among the foremost poets of Badakhshān, and entered Humāyūn's service when the latter conquered that province. In commemoration of this victory he composed the following chronogram and presented it to the emperor :

Maulānā
 Junūbi.

¹ Ibid., p. 173.

Thy form shall prove to be '*the turmoil of the age*' when thou dost move.

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at the artful devices, which is a striking feature of the later Mughal age, is also visible in his writings. In a '*masnawī*' which he composed in eulogy of his master he made use of all such subtleties to the discomfiture of his contemporaries. From its very first line quoted below, the drift and character of the whole poem can be gauged :

شهنشاه دین پادشاه زمان
ز بخت همایون شده کامران

¹ Ibid.

Note the artistic use of the word '*humāyūn*' with '*kāmraṇ*' in their both concrete and adjectival senses. This is a typical example of the usual attempts at the Indian courts to exhaust two or more figures of speech in one phrase. The prominent figures in the above are *ایهام* and *مراعات النظیر* [Equivocation and Homogeneity.] The great incentive to this sort of production is to be found in the applausive support of the Mughal kings who encouraged its growth in India as a piece of literary skill. But it must not be understood that this hobby was exclusively Indian. It was in fact Persian, but developed in India under more favourable circumstances. Cf. a similar instance of play on the word '*mahmūd*' (name of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī) at the Persian court of Shāh 'Abbās—the Great, from Zulālī's *masnawī* entitled '*Mahmūd wa Ayūz*' beginning :

بنام آنکه معصودش ایاز است * غمش بتغانه ناز و نیاز است

Also cf. the finishing line : *الهی عاقبت معصود باشد* [B.M. MSS., Or. 350.] For further illustrations *vide supra*, p. F. N. 3.

The emperor of religion and the king of the
age,

Became victorious through auspicious fortune.

His other poems including '*rubā'iyāt*' and '*qasā'id*' are to be found in the biographies of Persian poets. Some selections have been given by Badāūnī and Abul Fazl. The following from the latter is reproduced as a clever composition in praise of Akbar, inducing him to bestow on the poet yet another elephant loaded with gold :

تا بفیلاں میل دیدم دلستان خویش را¹
صرف راه فیل کردم نقد جان خویش را
خاک بر سر میکنم چون فیل هر جا میرسم
گر نه بینم بر سر خود فیلبان خویش را
شاه فیل افکن جلال الدین محمد اکبر است
آنکه بکشد فیل زریں شاعران خویش را

Since I noticed the attention of my heart-
ravisher towards elephants,
I spent in the path of the elephants the cash
of my life ;
I throw dust over my head like an elephant
wherever I go,

¹ Ā'in i Akbarī Vol. I, p. 244.

The above poem is a very good example of the Persian figure of speech known as حسن طلب, wherein the channels of thought and metaphor are suggested purely from the luxuries of an Indian court.

If I do not find on my head my elephant-
driver ;
The *elephant-braver* king is that Jalāluddīn
Muhammad Akbar,
Who bestows on his poets elephants loaded
with gold.

He combined the knowledge of Astronomy with Poetry. In the latter he confined his attention chiefly to '*qasīda*'-writing, and followed Shāh Tahir Dakhanī. and Nizām i Astrābādī. and Anwarī in general style. He entered Humāyūn's service in the first part of his reign, and presented to him the following '*qasīda*' which he had composed in the metre of Anwarī:

مکمل مهر چو آید بشیستان حمل¹
لاله فانوس بر افروز و نرگس مشعل
کوه از درون سر بهمن و دی رست کنون
شوید از ناصیه اش ابر بهاری صندل

The litter of the sun when it enters the night-
chamber of the *Ram*,
The tulip lights up the candle-lamp, and the
narcissus the torch ;
The mountain is now relieved of the headache
of December and January,

¹ Badā'ūnī—Vol. I, p. 483.

Cf. Anwarī's *qasīda*:

جرم خورشید چو از حوت فرو آید بهمل
اشهب روز کند ادهم شب را ارجل

The spring cloud washes the sandal powder
from off its face.

Some of his '*gasāid*' are most remarkable, and are composed in close imitation of those of the leading Persian poets like Salmān, Zahr, Anwārī, and Khāqānī. A few, of which the opening lines are quoted below, are specially noteworthy :

در غم آبان جهان عیش از دل ناشاد رفت
خوبه غم کردیم چندانی که عیش از یاد رفت

In the grief-inhabited world, life's joy left the
unhappy heart,
So much to grief were we given that life's
joy was forgotten.

ما بجرم عشق بدنامیم و زاهد از دنیا
هر دو بدنامیم اما ما کجاء او کجا

We are notorious for our guilt of love, and the
devotee for his hypocrisy,
Both are notorious, but see the difference
between him and ourselves.

بیرون میا که شهره ایام میشوی
ما کشفه میشویم تو بدنام میشوی

¹ Ibid., p. 487.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Don't come out, for thy fame will spread,
We shall be killed and thou wilt be slandered.

هر آنکس که بر کام گیتی نهاده دل
بنزدیک اهل خرد نیست عاقل

He who fixes his heart on the object of the
world,
Is not wise before the men of wisdom.

باز وقتست که بر طبق تقاضای فلک
افگند بر سر ایوان چمن گل توشک

Again 'Tis time, through the sky's demands,
That the rose spread a carpet before the
palace-garden's gate.

He is called '*Dakhani*' because he had devoted himself in his later years entirely to Deccan, and rose to considerable influence and fortune there. He originally belonged to 'Irāq wherefrom he came to Āgra and stayed there for some time in the beginning. Since he was an orthodox Shī'a and a zealous advocate of his religion, he often discussed with the Sunnī court religious questions which eventually led to a friction between himself and his Sunnī associates. He called himself a relation of Shāh Tahmāsp, and might be that he was purposely sent to Humāyūn's court by the Shāh to convert the emperor into Shī'a. From Āgra he went to his

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 484.

elder brother Shāh Ja'far in Deccan and took service under Burhān Nizām Shāh I, ruler of Ahmadnagar, who soon raised him to the rank of Deputy (*Vakīl*). He is an epoch-making personage and opens a new chapter in the history of the Deccan by introducing the Shī'a faith in that country and converting the Shāh into a zealous Shī'a. Badāūnī relates the incident which led to the conversion of the Shāh as follows :

۱ و نظام شاه بکری را که بیماری مزمن لاعلاج داشت
بطفیل فسوں خوانی شاه جعفر صحتی روی داد و این
معنی را..... حمل بر کرامات شاه جعفر نموده باغواي
او از مذهب سنت و جماعت که بطریق مهردویه داشت
بر آمده مترفع غالی شد

¹ Ibid., p. 483.

NOTE. A doubt is expressed by Professor Browne, in his recent work 'Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924,' p. 169, fn. 3, as to the correctness of the epithet '*Bahrī*' with which the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar were known. Cf.—

"I doubt if '*Bahrī*' is a correct reading: it should perhaps be '*Burhān*,' the proper name of the second of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar who reigned, etc."

As to its correctness as a title or surname of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar, there is not the least doubt. The historian Farishtā who, on his arrival in India, had at first settled at Ahmadnagar, due to his father's appointment as tutor to Murtuza Nizām Shāh, says that Nizāmul Mulk I, (whose real name, on his conversion to Islām, had been changed from Malik Nā'ib to Malik Hasan) was for a time called '*Bahar lū*' after the name of his Brahman father

And to Nizām Shāh Bahri, who had a chronic and incurable disease, through Shāh Ja'far's recitation of charm, relief appeared. And having attributed this to Shāh Ja'far's supernatural powers, the king, through his instigation, renounced the Sunnī faith which he had on the manner of Mahdiwī sect, and became a zealous bigot.

He died in 952 A.H., and the date was found in the ingenious phrase *و ار تابع اعل بيت برده*, and he was the follower of the house of 'Alī. He was an excellent poet, and is the author of several poetical works consisting mostly of '*masnawī* and '*qasā'id* in praise of Humāyūn and Nizām Shāh Bahri.

He came to Āgra from Shirāz, and took his role as one of Humāyūn's court poets. He had a Sūfistic turn of mind and lived a simple and unostentatious life. Badāūnī testifies to his fame as a poet and his tendency to Sūfism. He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry

د

Shaikh Abul
Wajid Fāriḡhī
Shirāzī.

'Bahar.' This appellation was changed by Sultān Muhammad Shāh into '*Bahri*' with which the dynasty became subsequently known in the Deccan. The Sultān had also entrusted to his care his favourite hawk together with other hunting animals due to the suggestivity of the word '*Bahri*' (a hawk or a falcon). Cf. the statement :

سلطان محمد شاه در اوان طفلي چون لفظ بهر لورا تعريف كرده
ملك حسن بهري ميگفت هر آينه بين النحاس والاعام به بهري ملقب
گشت بهري خاصه خود را در لباس جميع جانوران شكارى
..... بواسطه مناسبت لفظي حواله ملك حسن بهري نموده -

[Farishta, Vol. II, p. 534.]

was full of pathos and the pang of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly '*ghazal*' on separation from his ideal beloved and in complaint of the latter's inattentions. Some specimens are as follows :

از بس که آن جفا جو آزار مینماید¹
اندک ترحم او بسیار مینماید

Since great is the torture that that tyrant
shows,
A little mercy from him appears as much.

بکمال الله که وار ستم ز عشق مست بد خوي²
که مي افتاد چون چشم خود از مستي بهر کوي
چو ساغر از براي جرعه لب بر لب هر کس
صراحي وار بهر ساغري مائل بهر سوي

God be praised that I was freed from the
love of a quarrelsome drunkard,
Who fell into every street like his own
intoxicated eye ;
Like a wine-cup for a draught of wine, he
put his lip to the lip of every one,
Like a jug of wine, for a cup of wine, he was
going in every direction.

¹ Badā'ūnī, Vol. I, p. 475.

² Ibid.

۱ عمری که دل دیوصل توام بهره مند بود
 نمود آنقدر که توان گفت چند بود
 القصه در فراق بسر شد شمار عمر
 سرمایۀ وصال که داند که چند بود
 اغیار دوش بپیش تو بودند و فارغی
 از درها بر آتش حرمان سپند بود

It is long time since my heart had the boon
 of union with thee,
 It was so short that it was as if it were not.
 In short, the days of life were spent in
 separation,
 The wealth of union who knew how great it
 was?
 The rivals, last night, were before thee, and
 Fāriḡhi,
 From afar was like a rue on the fire of des-
 pair.

۲ رشته جمعیت اے یاران همدم مگسلید
 در پریشانی پریشانیست از هم مگسلید

The string of union do not break, O companions
 of breath,
 In scattering there is distress, do not break
 away from each other.

¹ Ibid., p. 476.

² Ibid.

چو تیر خود کشی از سینہ ام بگذار پیکان را
مرا دل ده کہ تا مردانہ در راہت دہم جاں را

When thou drawest the arrow from my chest,
leave the arrow-head,
Give me heart so that like a brave man I may
give my life in thy path.

He breathed his last in 940A.H., at Āgra, and was buried by the side of his late friend Shaikh Zainuddin whose death had occurred just a few months before him.²

He lived at the Mughal court as personal physician to Bābur and Humāyūn, and also as chief Munshi to the latter. He is the author of several works of diverse utility and nature including poetical, medicinal, and epistolary. In poetry he wrote chiefly 'qasīda' on subjects connected with public health and hygiene, under the pen-name 'Yūsufī.' Some of his works are the following :

Yūsuf bin i
Muhammad
Hirwal.

¹ Ibid.

² This is to be noted that both these poets on their arrival in India were in a very miserable condition. Shaikh Abul Wājid who came from Shirāz had nothing with him besides one old fur coat on his body, and so did the other. Cf. the statement :

زمانی کہ ہر دو بزرگوار متوجہ ہند ہوئے از قلاشی مفروط غیر از کپتہ پرستینی
باعود نہا ہند

[Ibid., p. 477.] From this extreme poverty they rose to fortune under the Mughal patronage. Shaikh Zainuddin was appointed as 'Sadr' by Bābur and Abul Wājid occupied a seat among the court poets of Humāyūn.

- I. *Riyāz ul Inshā'*¹: a treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions, undertaken in 946 A.H., and on finish dedicated to Humāyūn.
- II. *Jāmi'ul Fawa'id*²: a work on general medicine treating of their uses, benefits, and injuries, with certain guiding rules.
- III. *Qāsida fī hifz i Sihāt*: a poem on the main principles of hygiene, dedicated to Bābur in 937 A. H., when he was not keeping good health.
- IV. *Badāi'ul Inshā'*: a treatise on the art of literary composition, giving proper titles and forms of addresses in accordance with the rank and profession of the addressee. It was written in 940 A. H.,³ for the benefit of his own son, Rafi'uddin Husain, as well as other youths in general. It has been lithographed at Lāhore, Delhī, and Lucknow.

¹ Add. 17955, B.M. MSS., foll. 79b, and 174a.

² Add. 23, 560, B.M. MSS. foll. 262a—264b.

NOTE.—This is only an extract from the preceding work.

³ The date of its composition is obtained by doubling the total of the numerical value of the letters of its title, as hinted by the author in the following verse :

تکرار کنی چونام ادرا یکبار * شک نیست کہ وہ بری بسال اتمام

[Thus بدایع الانشا = 470, which on being doubled ($470 \times 2 = 940$) gives the date of its composition.]

He was the son of the famous scholar and poet of Bābur's time Khwāja Abul Barakāt (still alive

Khwāja and patronised by Humāyūn). The Ayyūb. father and the son both were capable

poets and wrote all kinds of poetry including '*ghazal*' '*masnawī*,' '*rubā'ī*,' and '*qasīda*.' The father used '*Farāqī*' as his pen-name. The following '*qasīda*' which he wrote after the manner and style of Salmān Sāwajī is one of his worthiest productions :

تپ غم دارم و درد سر هجران بر سر¹
 آمده جان بلب و فامده جانان بر سر
 تا گرفت آتش دل در تن من چوں فانوس
 دامم چاک شد و چاک گریبان بر سر

The fever of grief and the headache of
 separation have I : ov'r head,
 To the lip has come life, and the loved hath
 not come : ov'r head ;
 Since the fire of the heart caught light in my
 body like a candle-lamp,
 My skirt was torn, and the rent of the collar
 appeared : ov'r head.

He combined with the sober poetic vein a considerable amount of humour and also wrote satires, for which he had a pungent gift, on eminent theologians in a graceful and felicitous style. Some of

¹ Badā'uni, Vol. I, p. 488.

his verses from a pleasantly humorous poem written as a satire upon the Qāzi of Nishāpūr are reproduced below :

۱ خلاف شرع پیمبر نوشت فقه دگر
 که هیچ زان نبود در کتابها مسطور
 غسل حرام نوشت و شراب کرد حلال
 که این عصارهٔ تاکست و آن قثی زنبور
 زنی که شکوه شوهر به پیش قاضی برد
 که حظ نفس من از وی نمیرسد بظهور
 جواب داد که گراوقوی ضعیف شد است
 روا بود که در آرد بجای خود مردور

Against the law of the Prophet, he wrote
 another law,
 Of which naught is found writ in the early
 books;
 Honey he forbade, and wine he permitted,
 Since one was the grape's juice, the other
 the bee's vomit;
 To a woman who 'fore the Qāzi of her
 husband complained,
 That he did not give to her joy complete;
 He replied, "If his strength is so weak,
 'Tis allowed in his place a coolie to seek,"

Farishṭa pays him a high tribute of praise and declares that he came to Deccan after Humāyūn's death.¹

His son Khwāja Ayyūb, in his poetical composition sometimes uses 'Ayyūb' and sometimes 'Farāqī' (the pen-name of his father) as his *nom de guerre*. A specimen of his ode is as follows :

اے شاخ گل کہ همچو سہی قد کشید^۲
 بر گرد لب خطے ز زمرد کشید^۱
 قدت برآمده چو الف مدظلہ
 دو ابروان فراز الف مد کشید^۱
 بر حرف دیگران زد^۲ قرعۂ قبول
 بر حرف عاشقان قلم زد کشید^۱
 از دولت وصال فراقی طمع مبر
 جور و جفای یار چو بیحد کشید^۱

O branch of the rose, thou art drawn straight
 like an erect stature,

¹ Cf. the statement :

خواجہ ابوالبرکات سمرقندی کہ آخر در زمان شاہ طاهر بہ دکن
 آمدہ بود در فضیلت و ندیمہ عدیل و نظیر نداشت -

[Farishta, Vol. I. p. 356.]

² Badā'uni, Vol. I, p. 489.

Round over thy lip thou hast drawn a line of
 emerald;
 Thy stature has come out like 'alif,' may its
 shadow increase,
 And from thy eyebrows thou hast drawn a
 mad' over that 'alif';
 Thou hast cast a dice of acceptance on the
 words of others,
 On the words of lovers thou hast drawn the
 pen of rejection;
 O Farāqī, do not despair the boon of his
 union,
 Since thou hast suffered endless tyranny and
 oppression of the beloved.

Maulānā Muhammad bin i 'Alī bin i Muhammad
 al Miskīnī al Qāzī as Samarqandī, a man of consider-

Maulānā Mu- able learning remained unnoticed by the
 hammad Fāzī. Mughal historians, author of a distin-
 guished Persian work entitled '*Jawāhir ul'Ulūm*' (or
 the pearls of Sciences) not published. It is a volumi-
 nous work covering 814 foll. (1,628 pages), of large
 foolscap size, closely written in neat elegant Arabic
 character. It is divided into several chapters and
 subdivisions, and treats of one hundred and twenty
 different subjects which are discussed under those
 headings with admirable brevity and simpleness of
 style. Some discussions are on history, astronomy,
 mathematics, medicine, logic, philosophy, ethics, and
 Muslim jurisprudence. The copyist is one Nūr
 Muhammad's son, 'Abdurrahmān of Lāhore. The
 date of compilation is contained in its very name

which is inserted both in the Introduction and at the end, and works out into 946 A.H'. The work is called 'Humāyūnī' after the name of the emperor, to whom, as it appears from the Preface, this copy was formally presented. The author also incidentally hints at several works of his prior to this one, and says as a reason for writing this book, that from his very boyhood till his mature age, he was busy in acquiring knowledge under the best teachers of the age, and having studied some rare works like '*Nafā'is ul Funūn fī 'Arā'is ul 'Uyūn,*' '*Sittin ul Āsār,*' and '*Hadā'iq ul Anwār,*' he thought of putting together their contents as well as those of his previous works, in a smaller compilation. The work is therefore a sort of Encyclopedia which is a singular undertaking in that age and stands by itself.

The title page bears the seals of Shāh Jahān, Sulaimān Jāh, Sultān 'Ālam, and Shāh 'Ālam, with several autographs of the librarians and private owners. These, with the inscription of Sulaimān Jāh's seal², suggest that the book remained in the

¹ Cf. the title and its working :

کتیب	20 + 400 + 10 + 2	= 432
جواهر	3 + 6 + 1 + 5 + 200	= 215
العلوم	1 + 30 + 70 + 30 + 6 + 40	= 177
همایونی	5 + 40 + 1 + 10 + 6 + n50 + 10	= 122

کتیب جواهرالعلوم همایونی

Total 946 A.H.

² Cf. the inscription in verse :

خوش است مهر کتبخانه سلیمان جلا
مهر کتاب مزین جو نقش بسماله

libraries of the kings of Delhi and Oudh. Since the work is of peculiar interest, it would be of some value for a student of literary history to observe the style of its language, and the tone of the author's Preface and his address to the king, together with the subjects discussed, which in those days formed the main basis of learning and considered important from a scholar's standpoint.

The first 3 folios are reproduced from the original as follows :—fol. 1 b.

کتاب جواهر العلوم
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
و تم بالخیر

فاضلترین منظومات جواهر علوم و تصنیفات مصنفات
فاضل و کاملترین منشورات نوار رسوم و تالیفات مؤلفان
کامل کہ چہرہ فصاحت شعار نوع و رسان نفایس فنون
معقولہ و جہۃ بلاغت دثار زبانیان عرایس عیون منقولہ
را بزور فضیلت و برزنت کرامت مزین و محلی سازند
بدایع حمد و سپاس و صنایع مدح بے قیاس حضرت
پادشاہی است کہ نظام امور عالم و انتظام مہام
بنی آدم بوجود فیاض الجود پادشاہان ہمایون اثر و
شہریاران شریعت پرور منوط و مربوط ساختہ و علم
ترویج امور شرع متین و لواء تنسیق مہام دین را باوج
سپہر برین برافراختہ فظم
ز اوج آسمان تا مرکز خاک * خدائے نیست غیر از ایزد پاک

و صکایف لطایف صلوات و شرایف وظایف تسلیمات
تکفۀ روضۀ آن خلاصۀ مجموعۀ کاینات و زبدۀ نسخۀ
موجودات کہ ینابیع علوم جمیع علما از بکر مکیط
دانش او قطره ایست و مصابیح معارف جمیع فضلا
از مشارق آفتاب معرفتش ذرۀ **نظم**

مقتدای انبیا سلطان دارالملک دین

سید اولاد آدم رحمة للعالمین

و بر آل و اصحاب و احباب کہ ارکان دولت و دین
واعیان حضرت **سید آلہ وسلمین** اند صلی اللہ علیہ
و علی آلہ الی ہادین و خلفایہ الراشدین و اصحابہ
اجمعین **اما بعد** چنین گوید بندہ فقیر و ذرہ
حقیر الراجی من اللہ الکاکم الابذی محمد فاضل بن
علی بن محمد المسکینی القاضی السمرقندی غفراللہ
ذنوبہ و ستر عیوبہ کہ از ایام صبا تا مقام انتہا
در تکصیل فضایل و کمالات می بود و از روایح نفایس
علماء زمان و فوایح مجالس فضلاء دوران حظی تمام
استشمام می نمود و بعد از فراغ مطالعہ نفایس الفنون
فی عرایس العیون و ستین الآثار و حدایق الانوار
و بعضی از فواید شریفہ فضلاء فصاحت شعار این عزم
جزم گشت کہ خلاصہ الفاظ جواهر آبدار و زبدہ مفاخر
معانی ابتکار آنها را مع نقود فواخر اخبار و خرف ویزہ
چند بی مقدار کہ ازین خاکسار سمت اشتہار دارد بقید

خامه نوار، نگار آورده تحفه زیبا مشتمل بر صول و بدست

علم ترتیب دهد و موضوع هر يك را بزبان فارسي بر سبیل اختصار با حسن نظام و انسب ترتیب انتظام نماید بروجهی که مفید خاص و عام و مستحسن جمیع طوایف انام باشد چون روی امید به کرم کریم جاوید کرد و ذریعۀ افتقار و افکسار بمیان آورد لاجرم از مبداء فیاض علی الاطلاق با وجود عدم استحقاق باتمام آن امر عظیم مشرف شد و بانجام آن شغل جسیم مستسعد گشت و آنرا بجواهر العلوم همایونی موسوم گردایند و عنوانات متنوعۀ آنرا

بمقدمه و سه مقاله خانومت سمت انتظام

و صفت اختتام داد و خلعت بے بضاعتش را بطراز مدح حضرت صاحبقران مطرز و ذات منقصت سمانش را بتشریف (fol. 2a) ثنائے حضرت سلیمانی معزز گردانید که ظاهر خجسته ماثرش مورد آثار فیوضات الهی است و باطن فرخنده میامنش مهبط انوار الهمات فامتناهی - طبع لطیفش عارف معارف جمیع فضایل و کمالات و ذهن شریفش واقف مواقف جمیع معقولات و منقولات - همگی همت عالی نهشتش بر تقویم قوایم ملت غرا و تشیید دعایم شریعت بیضا مقصود است و تمامی اوقات خجسته ساعتش به مراقبۀ حال مشایخ بزرگوار و تمشیت مهام سادات عالیقدر و رعایت علماء اعلام و تقویت امور قضاة اسلام عصور اعنی جم جاه سلیمان دستگاه سکندر جناب آسمان

قبا ب جمشید مقام خورشید جسم فریدون فرگردون مقر
انجم حشم کواکب خدم مهر مکان سپهر مکیں ملایک نشان
ارایک نشین صبح سیمای آفتاب رای ستاره درم دریا کرم
ناظم مناظم سرا فرای مقوی ارکان ملت حجازی معز السلطنة

والخلافة صمدی همایون پادشاه الغازی

خدا الله تعالی سر بر سلطنت علی الفلک

الرابع وبسط بساط مملکت الی الاقلیم السابع

امیدواری بکمال کرم کردگاری آنکه مستعدان مجلس
اشرف اعلی ارقام این اوراق افادت انجام را بشرف قبول
مشرف سازند و سطور این اجزای بلاغت فرجام را منظور
نظر اعتبار گردانیده بر زلات مکسور اللسان نیندازند- نظام

خداوندا چو از محض عنایت

بالباطنی که آنرا نیست غایت

کرم کردی بمن توفیق تالیف

مرا دانی تو استعداد تصنیف

که تصنیف مرا مقبول گردان

بنزد نسخه سنجان سکن دان

بروی من درے از فضل بکشا

خطاهاے قلم را عفو فرما

مقدمه مذکور است به سه قسم - قسم اول

در بیان شرف علوم و فضیلت علما - هر چند اثبات این دعوی و تحقیق این معنی احتیاج به حکمت و برهان و حاجت بدلائل و بیان ندارند زیرا که جمیع طوایف اعم و عموم افراد بنی آدم بشرف سعادت علم معترف اند و بعدم تکصیل کمالات متاسف اما تیمناً و تبرکاً بعضی از آنچه در کتب سماوی مذکور است و از احادیث نبوی مشهور و از ارباب نفوس قدسی مذکور گشته علی سبیل الاجمال

مستور میگردان آنچه در قرآن مجید

و فرقان حمید مستور است قال الله تعالی

هَلْ يَسْتَوِي الَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ * چه نفی استوا میان ایشان بواسطه شرف علم و نقصان جهل است و عِلْمُكُمْ مَالٌ نَكُنْ نَعْلَمُ وَ كَانْ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكَ عَظِيماً * حضرت عزت باوجود چندین هزار الطاف و اعطاف که نسبت به حضرت رسالت عنایت فرموده بهیچ چیز ببری منت نهاده الا يعلم اطیعوا اللَّهَ وَاَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَاُولِيَ الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ * اکثر مفسران برین اند که مراد از اولی الامر درین مقام عالمانند یرفع الله الذين آمنوا منكم و الذين اوتوا العلم درجات * چه اول بلند گردانیده درجه مومنان

را و بعد ازاں فرمود که درجات مر اهل علم را است و ازین جا لازم آید که درجات اهل علم از درجات دیگران بیشتر بود و آنچه در انجیل مذکور است از مقابله بن سلیمان منقول است که **حق تعالی فرموده است** که یا عِیْسَى عَظَمَ الْعُلَمَاءَ وَ اعْرِفْ فَضْلَهُمْ فَإِنِّي فَضَّلْتَهُمْ عَلَى جَمِيعِ خَلْقِي إِلَّا النَّبِيِّينَ وَالْمُرْسَلِينَ كَفَضِلِ الشَّمْسِ عَلَى الْكَوَاكِبِ وَ كَفَضِلِ الْآخِرَةِ عَلَى الدُّنْيَا وَ كَفَضْلِي عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ * یعنی یا عیسی تعظیم کن تو علما را و بشناس فضیلت ایشان را بتحقیق که من ترجیح کرده‌ام ایشانرا بر جمیع خلق خود مگر انبیا و پیغمبران مرسل و فضل ایشان مثل فضل و شرف آفتابست بر کواکب و مثل فضل و شرف آخرت است بر دنیا و مثل فضل و شرف من است بر تمام مخلوقات—
و آنچه در احادیث مذکور است قال علیه السلام الناس عالم او متعلم و سائر الناس كالهمج لا خیر فیهم * یعنی مراد از انسان یا عالم است یا متعلم و باقی مردمان چون مگسافند که در ایشان نیکوئی نیست— **و قواله علیه السلام** اقرب الناس من درجة النبوة (fol. 2b) اهل العلم و الجهاد * یعنی از مردمان نزدیکتر بدرجۀ نبوت اهل علم و اهل جهاد اند

و قوله عليه السلام فضل العالم على العابد كفضلي
 على ادني كم مريّة - عالم بر عابد چون مريّة منست بر
 ادناي شما - **قوله عليه السلام** يشفع يوم
 القيامة ثلثة الانبياء ثم العلماء ثم الشهداء - يعني در روز
 قيامت خلق راسه طايفه شفاعت كننده باشند انبيا
 و علماء و شهدا و قوله عليه السلام مَنْ صَلَّى خَلْفَ
 عَالِمٍ مِنَ الْعُلَمَاءِ فَكَأَنَّهُ صَلَّى خَلْفَ نَبِيٍِّّ مِنَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ *
 يعني هر كه نماز گذارد در عقب عالمی از علما گويانماز
 گذارده است در عقب پيغمبري از پيغمبران **قال عليه السلام**
 افضل العلوم مايحتاج الناس اليه * يعني افضل علوم آن
 علم است كه احتياج مردمان بدان پيشتر بود -
در فوائد الفتاوى آورده كه پيغامبر فرموده
 صلى الله عليه وسلم هر عالمی كه بنده مومن را علم
 بياموزد حق سبحانه و تعالى در روز قيامت هزار قلاده
 از نوان گردن او كند و بفرمايد فرشتگان را تا بنويسند
 از براى او بعد از هر موته كه برتن او بود ثواب حج
 اكبر و هر كه يك باب از علم بياموزد اگرچه يك حديث
 باشد حق تعالى ثواب هفتاد پيغمبران باو ارزاني
 دارد و هر كه يك باب از علم بشنود چنان باشد كه
 بنده را كه قيمت آن هزار دينار است آزاد كرده باشد

و در خبر است هر که در راه طلب علم غبارے
 بر قدم او نشیند حق تعالی بدن او را از آتش دوزخ
 نگاه دارد و نیز آمده است که حق سبحانه و
 تعالی کوہے آفریده است بمقدار دنیا و فرداے قیامت
 چهل بار در ترازوے نہادہ شون کسی کہ جہت علم
 روزی بزانوے ادب پیش عالمے نشستہ باشد و نیز
 در خبر است کہ ہر کہ یک روز در طلب علم گذارد
 نزدیک حق تعالی بہتر باشد از عبادت ہزار سالہ و در
 نوادر الفتاوی آوردہ است کہ ہر کہ یک درم در
 طلب علم صرف کند چنان باشد کہ مقدار کوہے
 ابو قیس زر در راه حق تعالی صرف نمودہ باشد قسم دوم
 در بیان تعریف و تقسیم جمیع افراد علوم معقولہ
 و توصیف تمامی انواع فنون منقولہ - بدان کہ علم
 بحسب اشتراک لفظی بچند معنی مستعمل است گاہے
 بمعنی صفتے بود کہ موجب تمیز گردن و باین معنی
 علم از قبیل مقولہ کیف باشد و گاہے بمعنی مصدری
 و بمعنی عالمیت آید و بریں تقدیر از قبیل مقولہ
 مضاف بود و گاہے بمعنی حصول صورت چیزے در عقل
 آید و باین اعتبار از مقولہ انفعال باشد و گاہے
 بمعنی اعتقاد جازم مطابق ثابت و گاہے بمعنی حکم
 بوقوع نسبت و بریں دو تقدیر از مقولہ فعل است و
 گاہے بر چند تصدیقے اطلاق نمایند از مسایل کہ

راجع باشند آنها بسوی موضوع واحد چون علم
 فقه و علم طب و علم فلك و امثال آن و این را
 صناعت نامند و علم بمعنی صناعت دو نوع است
 حکمت و ادب حکمت آنست که نسبت او بکلیع
 ازمنه و جمیع اقوام علی السویه باشد چون علم
 الهی و علم هیئۃ - و ادب آنست که به بعضی از اقوام و
 ازمنه مخصوص باشد چون علم فلك و صرف که مبنی
 بر قوانین عربیه است نه بر قوانین اعلی فرس و علم
 حکمت دو نوع است، حکمت عملی و حکمت نظری - و
 حکمت نظری عبارتست از دانستن چیزها چنانچه باید
 و حکمت عملی بفعل آوردن چیزهاست چنانچه شاید
 بقدر طاقت بشری - حکمت نظری سه قسم است اعلی
 و اوسط و اسفل و این سه قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم
 است چنانچه هر يك مذکور میشود **اول علم اعلی**
 که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن بغير ماده است چون
 معرفت اله و عقول و نفوس و وحدت و کثرت و مانند
 آن و اصول این علم بر دو قسم است معرفت اله و مبادی
 مخلوقات از عقول و نفوس و این قسم اول را علم
 الهی یعنی الهیات خوانند و معرفت امور عامه چون
 معرفت وجود و حدوث و قدوم و امثال آن و این قسم دوم
 را علم فلاسفۃ اولی نامند **دوم علم اوسط** یعنی
 علم ریاضی (fol. 3a, begins on page 89)

که موضوع او در ذهن ماده ندارد و در خارج بَرِ ماده نبود چون اشکال و نوایر و اعداد و امثال آن و اصول این علم بر چهار قسم است هندسه که عبارت است از معرفت مقادیر و اشکال و خط تعلیمی و لواحق آن و علم هیئت که عبارت است از معرفت اوضاع اجرام علوی یا اجرام سفلی و علم تالیف که عبارت است از دانستن تالیفات چون تالیف نغمات و حرکات و این علم را موسیقی خوانند و علم تالیف الفاظ مطلق از عربی و فارسی که مخصوص قومی و زمانی نباشد **سیوم علم اسفل** یعنی علم طبیعی که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن ماده دارد چون افسان و حیوان و مانند آن و اصول این علم بر هشت قسم است معرفت مبای متغیرات چون هیولی و صورت و زمان و مکان و سکون و حرکت و امثال آنرا علم اسماء طبیعی نامند و معرفت اجسام بسیطة مرکبة و معرفت احکام بسایط علوی و سفلی چون افلاک و کواکب و عناصر و امثال آنرا علم اسماء عالم گویند که افتتاح این نسخه شریفه بآنها خواهد بود معرفت ارکان و تبدل و استحکاله و نظایر آنرا مثل علم کیمیاگری از تصعید و تکلیس و حل و عقد و عمل اکسیر و مثل آنکه آب بسته شود و سنگ بگدازد و آب گردد و آتش هوا شود آنرا علم کون و فساد نامند و معرفت اسباب حوادث هوایی چون برق و رعد و صاعقه و هاله و باران و زلزله و امثال آنرا علم آثار علوی خوانند و معرفت مرکبات و کیفیت ترکیبات جواهر و اجساد و کبریت و سیما و مانند آن را

علم معادن گویند و معرفت اجسام نامیه و قوای آن چون کیفیت محکمی بیخ هادر زمین و برآمدن قوایم آن در هوا و درازی و کوتاهی و کجی و راستی شاخه‌های و صورت برگها و کیفیات حبوب از نشو و نما و مانند آن را علم نباتات خوانند و معرفت احوال اجسام متحرکه بحرکت اراضی و مبادی حرکات و قوای ایشان چون معرفت وحوش و طیور و کیفیت اعصاب و آورده و شرائین و اختلاف صور و حیوانات و منافرت طبایع و امزجه و مبانیات اخلاق و افعال و توابع آنرا علم حیوانات نامند و **معرفت احوال نفس فاطقه انسانی** و چگونگی تدبیر و تصرف چون کیفیت روح و بودن او داخل در بدن یا خارج یا مکیطبه بدن یا عین یا عرض یا جوهر یا جسم و امثال آنرا علم نفس نفوس خوانند **حکمت عملی چهار قسم است** **حکمت خلقی** یعنی علم اخلاق که باصلاح هر شخص تعلق دارد **حکمت متذلی** یعنی علم معاش **حکمت مجالسی** یعنی علم مجالس و مکاتیر و **حکمت بدنی** یعنی علم آداب ملوک و این چهار قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم است و علم ادب نیز مشتمل است بر چهارده علم و علم مناظره و علم منطق را نیز داخل ادبیات داشته‌اند چنانچه مذکور خواهد شد—علم دین و نوع است، علم احکام

دین و علم حکج متین - علم احکام دین و نوع
 است - علم احکام عملیه و علم احکام اعتقادیه - علم
 احکام عملیه یا بظاهر تعلق دارد یا بباطن - علم احکامیه
 که تعلق بظاهر دارد علم فقه است و علم احکام عملیه
 که تعلق بباطن دارد علم تصوف است و علم احکام
 اعتقادیه اگر موافق قوانین شریعت غرا باشد علم کلام
 است و علم حکج سه نوع است علم تفسیر و علم حدیث
 و علم اصول فقه و اسامی فروع هر یک از علوم دینی
 و حکمی و ادبی به تمام در فهرست این نسخه سعادت
 انجام مذکور است و مسطور و الله اعلم بحقایق الامور
قسم سوم از مقلی در بیان تعداد ابواب و فهرست
 این کتاب چون از فیض کرم عمیم الهی و فضل نعم جسیم
 نامتناهی این بنده ضعیف بتدوین و تالیف این رموز
 کموز علوم و آداب و تصنیف فنون اهل فضل و خطاب
 اعنی مجموعه کمالات انسانی و نسخه سعادات اهل معانی
 مشرف شد عنوانات متنوعه آنرا بر طبق منظومات
 مسطورة بشرف نظام خجسته فرجام منتظم گردانید
 و مقالات متعدده آنرا بر وقف این مرقومات مذکوره
 بسعادت اتمام فرخنده انجام رسانید **تعداد** **قسم**
اول از مقاله اولی از کتاب fol. 3 b
 جواهرالعلوم باب ۱ در علم خط باب ۲ در علم انشا
 باب ۳ در علم شعر باب ۴ در علم قافیه باب ۵

در علم عروض باب ۶ در علم معما و حل معیّات
 امیر حسین و بیان نغز باب ۷ در علم بدایع و صنایع
 شعری و اظهار مضرر باب ۸ در علم لطایف و مطایبات
 باب ۹ در علم امثال و حکایات بر سبیل تشبیه
 و استعارات باب ۱۰ در علم لغت و بیان واضح آن
 باب ۱۱ در علم صرف باب ۱۲ در علم نحو
 باب ۱۳ در علم معانی باب ۱۴ در علم بیان
 باب ۱۵ در علم مغالطات منقوله و معقوله باب ۱۶
 در علم عقاید باب ۱۷ در علم معرفت الهیات
 باب ۱۸ در علم امور عامه باب ۱۹ در علم اعراض
 باب ۲۰ در علم حکمت باب ۲۱ در علم منطق
 باب ۲۲ در علم مناظره و آداب البکث بنظم

تعدادن قسم دوم از مقاله اولی از کتاب

جواهرالعلوم

باب ۱ در علم قصص الانبیا باب ۲ در معرفت
 تاریخ ملوک فارس که قبل از عهد سید المرسلین
 بوده اند باب ۳ در علم سیرالنبی و بیان معجزات

و ذکر معراج **باب ۴** در معرفت واقعات و غزوات نبوی و بیان اوصاف خانه کعبه **باب ۵** در معرفت

اوصاف و احوال جمیع خلفا **باب ۶** در معرفت تاریخ سلاطین که بعد از خلفا بوده اند تا عهد بندگان حضرت صاحبقران **باب ۷** در معرفت تاریخ بندگان حضرت صاحبقران و اولاد و احفاد بزرگوار ایشان **باب ۸** در علم انساب **باب ۹**

در علم مقالات عالم **باب ۱۰** در علم سیرو مقامات طایفه اولی از اولیا **باب ۱۱** در معرفت مراقبات و مقامات طایفه ثانیه از مشایخ طریقت از خواجهای نقشبند و غیرهم و بیان مقابر و مزارات انبیا و اولیا و بیان طرح و وضع خانه کعبه **باب ۱۲** در بیان عجائب المخلوقات از

امور اخروی و دنیوی - تعدادان قسم اول از مقالات دوم از کتاب جواهرالعلوم - **باب ۱** در تهذیب

اخلاق **باب ۲** در علم تخلیه نفس از اوصاف ذمیه

باب ۳ از علم معاش در معرفت حقوق والدین و اولاد

باب ۴ در بیان معاملات با زوجات **باب ۵** در معرفت

اداب استلخدام **باب ۶** در معرفت حقوق مالیک
باب ۷ در معرفت جیران **باب ۸** در علم مجالس و
 مکاضر **باب ۹** از علم اداب ملوک در بیان علم حقوق
 رعایا بر ملوک **باب ۱۰** در علم حقوق ملوک بر رعایا
باب ۱۱ در بیان معرفت جواهرنامه **باب ۱۲**
 در بیان معرفت فرس نامه و بعضی از حیوانات **باب ۱۳**
 در بیان معرفت قوس نامه **باب ۱۴** در بیان معرفت
 باز نامه و غیره **باب ۱۵** در علم تشریح اعضا **باب ۱۶**
 در معرفت کلیات طبی **باب ۱۷** در بیان اسباب سته
 ضروریه و ما يتعلق بها **باب ۱۸** در بیان
 علم نبض **باب ۱۹** در بیان معالجات طبی
باب ۲۰ در بیان حمیات **باب ۲۱** در بیان علم
 قرا بادین یعنی معرفت ادویه مفردة و مرکبة
 به ترتیب حروف تهجی **باب ۲۲** در امراض عین
 تعداد قسم دوم از مقاله دوم از کتاب
 جواهرالعلوم - **باب ۱** در علم عبادات بر مذاهب
 اربعة **باب ۲** در علم مناکحات و تکلیفات -

باب ۳ در علم معاملات **باب ۴** در معرفت عقود
 وشهادات و ما ناسب بهذه المسطورات **باب ۵** در
 علم عقوبات و جنایات **باب ۶** در علم فرائض و
 قسمت مواريث و ايراد قواعد چند جهة نسبت و ضرب و
 قسمت و شبکه و حساب **باب ۷** در علم آداب القاضی
 و متفرقات (مشمول بر مباحث و قضایا و مجالس) **باب ۸**
 در علم صكوك و قبالحجات **باب ۹** در علم محاضر و
 دعای **باب ۱۰** در علم سجلات **باب ۱۱** در علم
 فتوی **باب ۱۲** در علم اصول فقه **باب ۱۳** در علم احتساب
باب ۱۴ در علم صید و اصطیاد و حلیت و حرمت اکثر
 حیوانات **باب ۱۵** در علم سنن و احکام **باب ۱۶**
 در علم آداب طعام **باب ۱۷** در معرفت امور مباحه
باب ۱۸ در معرفت فوائد متفرقه و لطائف مجتمعه فقهیه-
باب ۱۹ در علم موعظه و نصایح تعداد قسم اول
 از مقاله سیوم از کتاب جواهر العلوم - **باب ۱**
 در علم تفسیر و حل الفاظ مشکله قرآنی **باب ۲** در علم
 قراءت سبعة بنظم (fol. 4a) **باب ۳** در علم خواص

اوراد فتکیه و ترجمه قصیده برده بنظم و حزب البکر
 سوره آیات باب ۳ در علم ادعیه ماثوره و دعوات مشهوره
 باب ۵ در علم حدیث باب ۶ در علم اصول حدیث
 باب ۷ در معرفت قواعد و اصطلاحات صوفیه باب ۸
 در علم سلوک باب ۹ در علم توحید و مراقب مکاشفات
 باب ۱۰ در معرفت مشاهدات باب ۱۱ در معرفت
 مقامات و مراتب آن باب ۱۲ در علم حقیقت تعداد
 قسم دوم از مقاله سیوم از کتاب جواهرالعلوم
 باب ۱ در معرفت تقویم شمسی و قمری و اختیار ساعات
 باب ۲ در معرفت استخراج تقویم و شبکه نجومی
 باب ۳ در معرفت احکام نجوم باب ۴ در علم
 هیئت باب ۵ در علم اضطراب و بیان صنعت آن
 باب ۶ در معرفت کره افلاک باب ۷ در معرفت
 اقالیم سبعة باب ۸ در علم صور کواکب باب ۹
 در معرفت مسالك و ممالك عالم باب ۱۰ در علم
 تکسیر باب ۱۱ در علم اعداد وقف باب ۱۲

در علم حروف باب ۱۳ در علم جفر جامع
 باب ۱۴ در علم طلسمات باب ۱۵ در علم
 نیرنجات باب ۱۶ در علم کیمیا باب ۱۷
 در علم سیمیا باب ۱۸ در علم دعوة اسماء و
 شرایط آن باب ۱۹ در علم تسخیر کواکب
 باب ۲۰ در علم عزایم باب ۲۱ در علم رمل
 باب ۲۲ در علم حساب باب ۲۳ در علم
 مساحت و جر اثقال و بیان مبصرات باب ۲۴ در
 علم استیفا باب ۲۵ در علم قیامت باب ۲۶
 در تعبیر خواب باب ۲۷ در معرفت اختلاجات
 و علم شافه و طالع مسله و معرفت تفال و تطییر و امثال
 آن باب ۲۸ در معرفت طالع موالید و زایچه طالع
 باب ۲۹ در معرفت اشکال اقلیدس باب ۳۰
 در علم متوسطات باب ۳۱ در علم موسیقی باب ۳۲
 در علم دم و وهم که حکماء هند درین علم کتب
 معتبره تصنیف نموده اند باب ۳۳ در علم

شطنج کبیر و صغیر و حلیت و حرمت آنها بذهبین
و بیان ضمائر خاتمه در علامات قیامت و احوال آخرت -

باب اول از قسم اول از مقاله اولی از کتاب

جواهرالعلوم - در بیان علم خط مشتمل بر شش

فصل اول در تعریف خط بدانکه خط

عبارتست از معرفت تصویر کلمات و تحریر ترکیبات از
حروف مفردة و اصول تهجی و کیفیت صنایع و اوصاف آن
باعبار صنعت کتابت و صفت خطی و این صنعتیست که حروف
تراکیب غرایش مفاتیح کنوز مرادات و جهانیه
است.....الح

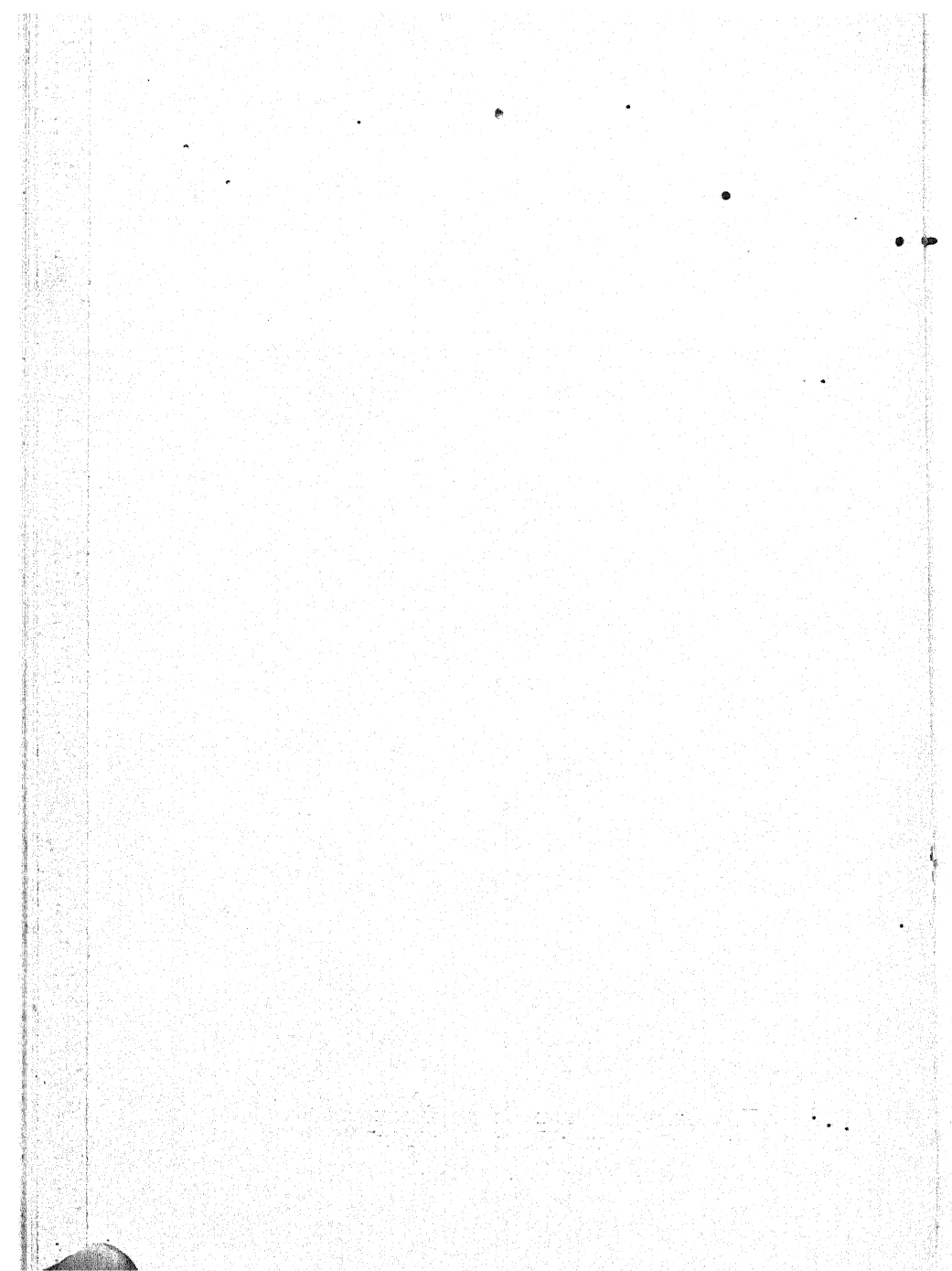
In the abovequoted preface of the author several points are of special interest, of which the following deserve notice :

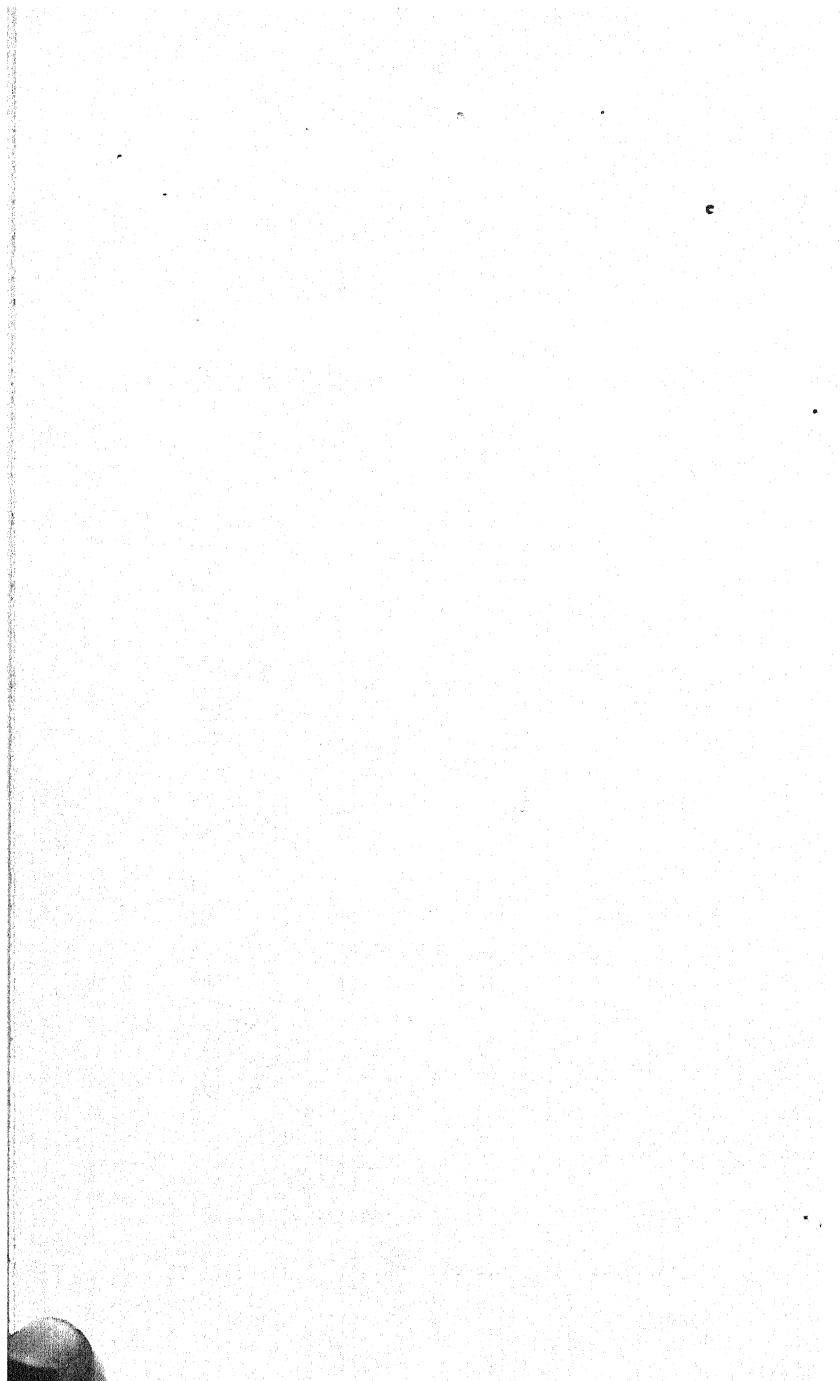
1. The work was the greatest and most important literary undertaking in Humāyūn's reign.
2. The author's idea of writing an Encyclopædia in that age, with the object of presenting it to a Mughal emperor in India, and not to any other Eastern monarch of a neighbouring country, is significant, and throws ample light on the literary taste of, and patronage shown by, the Mughal rulers.
3. The then prevailing system of writing chapters and headings in red ink, with



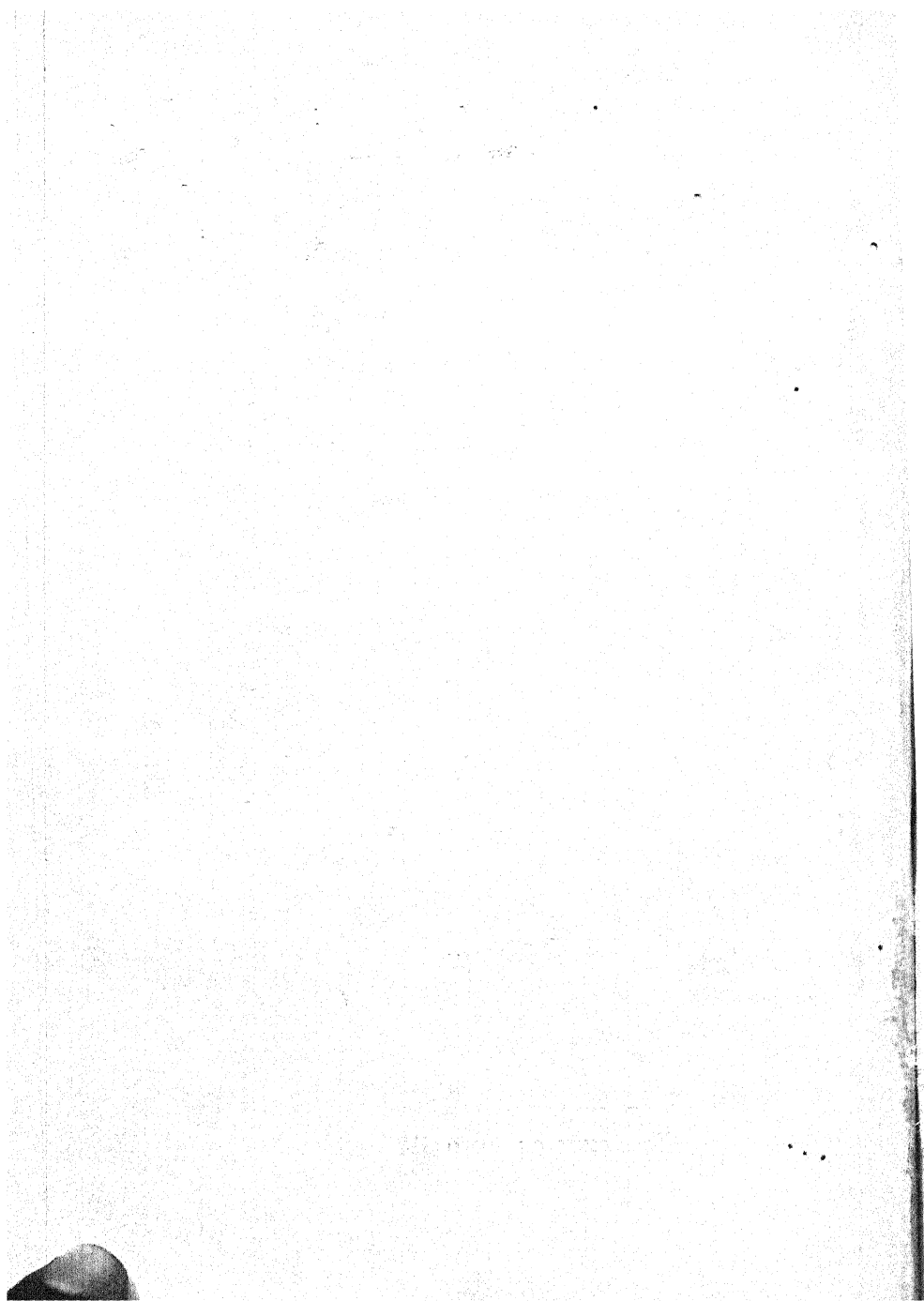
FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF
 "JAWĀHIR UL 'ULŪM HUMĀYŪNĪ."

[Author's family possession.]





[illegible]



the number of page indicated on the top of each in black ink, is somewhat peculiar, though at the same time very simple (*vide facs.* of fol. 3b).

4. The exceptional command and patience of a copyist to write out such a voluminous work in absolutely one hand and one style from the beginning to the end, with distinctive accuracy, elegance, and neatness, is an important feature of the time, and shows the height of excellence achieved in the art of calligraphy. Also, their mode of crossing and correcting mistakes by enclosing the rejected portion with ' inserted in the beginning, and ' at the end, is indicated in facs. fol. 1b.
5. The subjects discussed in the work, constituted علوم متداوله (current sciences), which were commonly taught in the educational institutions in those days, and formed the main basis of learning.
6. Arabic characters were generally employed in writing books of Persian language, and specially in literary and scientific books. Even the poetical works of standard poets were all written in *naskh* (Arabic characters); while Persian characters (*nasta'liq*) were more commonly used in works of less important character, and light literature such as State documents, foreign correspondence, *firmāns*, and official and private letters.

The reason of composition is given by the author in the following words :

و در همه حالات و جمیع اوقات بخدمات حضور
قیام مینموده پس بکاطر این خطوط کرد که تیمناً و
تبرکاً حالات و معاملات را بطریق یادداشت بقدر
فراست خود..... تذکره نماید

And in all circumstances and at all times he had stayed in the service of his Majesty ; so it occurred to his mind that he should record, as a memorandum and a boon and a blessing, the events and anecdotes, according to his own intellectual capacity.

He entered Humāyūn's service as an ewer-bearer at a very young age, and attended him faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindūstān. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humāyūn's private life during his exile. It was undertaken long after Humāyūn's death in the year 995 A.H.²

¹ Ibid., fol. 2a.

² Tazkirat ul Waqī'at, B.M. MSS. Add. 16, 711, fol. 2b. A copy of this work (inferior to the B.M. Codex) is also in the I.O. Library.

For a critical estimate of Jauhar see Raverty's article in the J. R. A. S.

A summary of its contents is given below :

- I. Humāyūn's fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujārātī, and the conquest of Gujarāt.
- II. His contests with Shēr Shāh, and temporary victory and occupation of Bengāl.
- III. Subsequent attack by Shēr Shāh and Humāyūn's defeat; his pluck while crossing the river; help given by a water-carrier who was afterwards made to sit on the royal throne at Āgra for half a day (*du sā'at*),¹ in reward for his signal service.

¹ A "*sā'at*" ساعت should not be understood in the strict sense of an hour. The day was then divided, as it is now, into four '*sā'at*' or '*ghari*' (also known as '*pās*' or '*pahr.*') Gulbadan Begam calls these divisions by the last name. Cf.—

تا سه پهر شب مجلس بود.... بعد از سه پهر حضرت آسایش
فرمودند

[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 37.]

These divisions of time were essentially Indian and had puzzled Bābur greatly. The above statement that the day was divided into four '*sā'at*' is supported by Farishta also, who, in this instance, interprets '*du sa'at*' into half a day. Cf.—

وعدة فرمود که پادشاهی نیمروز را بعد از رسیدن باگرة بتو
ارزانی دارم چنانچه همان قسم بعمل آمد
[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 407.]

It may however be noted that Gulbadan Begam differs from both Jauhar and Farishta, and declares that the menial sat on the throne for two days. Cf.—

تا دو روز بانی غلام پادشاهی دادند
[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 44].

'*sā'at*' also means a watch.

- IV. Humāyūn's further reverses due to the hostile attitude of his brothers.
- V. His flight to Persia ; reception by Shāh Tahmāsp ; the latter's evil designs against Humāyūn, and their aversion through the timely intervention of Bahrām Mirzā's sister ; help given to Humāyūn by the Shāh ; conquest of Cābul ; recruitment of soldiers for the attack on Hindūstān ; death of Shēr Shāh ; Humāyūn's entry into Āgra.
- VI. His last days and death by an accidental fall from the staircase of his palace at Delhi.

The style is generally simple and unadorned though at places he has, in conformity with the practice of the times, indulged into rhetorical expressions, probably to make a display of his knowledge, and inserted various quotations from the Qur'ān and the works of Persian poets.

Like Jauhar, he too was in the retinue of Humāyūn during the latter's flight from Hindūstān, and wrote a work entitled '*Tārīkh i Humāyūn*' at the request of Akbar. Ba Yazid. The author's own version as to this undertaking is as follows :

چون جم جاہ جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاہ
فرمودند از بندہ ہائے درگاہ ہریک، کہ سلیقہ تاریخ

¹ *Tārīkh i Humāyūn*, I. O., MSS., 223, fol. 1b.

باشد نویسند بلکه از ایام سلطنت حضرت جنت آشیانی
 همایون پادشاه اگر کسی را در خاطر چیزے مانده
 باشد دران درج نمایند و بنام نامی ما تمام سازند و این
 پروانه را نواب شیخ المشایخ شیخ ابوالفضل ولد
 شیخ مبارک به بایزید بے بضاعت رسانید -

Since Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh of Jamshīd's dignity said, "Every one from among the servants of the court who possess an aptitude for history may write it, nay, from the reign of Humāyūn Pādishāh, if any one has any events in his recollection, they (he) may insert them therein (history), and conclude it in my Majesty's name." And this royal mandate was conveyed to humble Bā Yazid by Nawāb *Shaikh ul Mashā'ikh* Shaikh Abul Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubārak.

The work is almost similar to Jauhar's in diction and style and is full of many interesting incidents of Humāyūn's and Akbar's private lives. It was undertaken at Lāhore in the year 999 A.H., when the author was feeling the infirmity of old age.¹ A most important piece of information contained in the work is the list of scholars and sundry notable officers who accompanied Humāyūn from

¹ Cf. the statement :

و چون ایام جوانی گذشته و ایام پیری درآمده بود و حافظه را قوت

چندان نمانده... إلخ [Ibid.]

Persia, Cābul, and other territories, on his way back to Hindūstān.¹

His real name was Shaikh Nizām. He entered Humāyūn's service on his second entry into Hindūstān.

He is said to be an excellent poet of Humāyūn's court, and wrote several 'masnawīs' and 'qasā'id' of which some he dedicated to the emperor. He died at an advanced age in 1003 A.H., and the chronogram of his death was found by one Nawāb Mubārak Khān of Delhī in the words 'أَحْ أَحْ نِزَامٌ' ('*ah ah Nizām*). It is a happy coincidence that a poet of the same name also lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and was reckoned among the leading poets of his day. Besides his numerous 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, a custom which very curiously prevailed both in India and Persia, and was a common feature of the two courts, he wrote several 'masnawīs' of which the following were well-known :

- (i) *Wāmiq wa'azrā.*
- (ii) *Nāz wa Niyāz.*
- (iii) *Afsāna i Bahār wa Khizān.*
- (iv) *Lailā wa Majnūn* (also called "*sar guzasht i Majnūn*").
- (v) *Jannat ul Akhyār.*
- (vi) *Sikandar Nāma.*

He also left two '*diwāns*' entitled '*sahā'ifi 'amal*' and '*Iqd ila'ālī*,' consisting mostly of 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh; and '*ghazal*' and '*rubā'i*' in

¹ Ibid., fols. 72b—76a.

praise of his beloved, and on the transitoriness of this world and its vanities. He died in Persia thirty years before his namesake in India.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Ruknuddīn 'Alā'uddaula Samnānī, and a pupil of Maulānā 'Isām-
 uddīn in logic and philosophy, and of
 Khwāja Husain Mervī, the famous Traditionalist Shaikh Ibn i
 Hajar II, in traditions and theology.
 As a poet of Persian language he compiled a '*dīwān*,'
 and is mentioned by Abul Fazl and Badāūnī (both
 of whom derived their material from *Nafā'is ul Ma-*
'āsir) as one of the poets of Akbar's reign. Bā Yazīd,
 however, mentions the Khwāja under Humāyūn, as
 one of his constant associates.¹ Some specimens of
 his poetry, which is full of subtleties peculiar to
 India, are as follows :

اے از مژہ بے تو آب رفته
 وز دیدہ خیال و خواب رفته

O thou, without thee, from my eye-lash the
 water flowed,
 And from the eye, the thought and the sleep
 departed.

¹ Vide the list of scholars who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān [Tārikh i Humāyūn, I.O., MSS., fol. 74a]. Also cf. fol. 27b :—

میر عبدالعزیزی و خواجہ حسین مرادی و خواجہ ایوب و ابوالبرکۃ
 ایس جماعہ کہ اہل نشست بودند... الخ

² Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 177.

١ بخود را بما چنانکه نبودي نمود

افسوس آنچنانکه نبودي نمود

Thou hast shown thyself to us in the form
that was not thine,
Alas, the manner in which thou hast shown
thyself thou wast not.

٢ باما گره چو غنچه در ابرو فگنده

با غیر لب چو پسته خندان کشوده

In association with us thou hast cast a knot,
like a bud, in thy eye-brow,
In company with others thou hast opened the
lip like a smiling pistachio.

٣ آنم که ممالک سخن ملک من است

صراف خرد صیر فی سلك من است

دیباچه کن ز دفتر من و رقیست

اسرار دو کون در سر کلک من است

I am such that the dominion of speech is my
property,
The banker of Wisdom is the tester of my
string of pearls ;
The preface of *Existence* is a leaf from my
book,
The secrets of both the worlds are on the
point of my pen.

He wrote a versified translation of the famous
Hindi work '*Sanghāsan Battisi*' entrusted to his care

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

by Akbar. It remained unfinished when he left India in 980 A.H., for Cābul, where he died soon after. His poetic powers and erudition may well be judged by the fact that Faizī was his pupil and was brought up and trained by him. When the Khwāja took leave for Cābul, Faizī found the date of this event in the words 'دام ظلّه' which are used for no less respectable a person than one's father or guardian. One of his marvellous compositions is a '*qasīda*' which he wrote and presented to Akbar on the occasion of Jahāngīr's birth in 977 A.H. It was considered as a masterpiece of surpassing skill ever designed by any one before him. The author himself seemed proud of its production, and challenged his colleagues (in the 13th verse) saying that no one from among the court poets could bring as a present anything better than that. It is so arranged throughout that the first hemistich of every line gives the year of Akbar's accession to the throne, while the second does that of Jahāngīr's birth. This shows the progress made in the art of chronogram so ardently taken up under the Mughal patronage :

لله الحمد از به جاہ و جلال شہر یار¹
گوهر مجد از محیط عدل آمد در کنار

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 348.

NOTE.—The same with a high tribute of praise has been produced by Jahāngīr, with slight variants, in his Tuzuk, p. 3, 'Aligarh, 1864. Cf. his remark :

اما خواجہ حسین مروری از قدرت طبع وحدت فہم تصدیقہ گفتہ کہ
کارنامہ ستغوران توان دانست

طائرے، از آشیان جاہ و جود آمد فرود
 کوکبے از اوج عز و ناز گردید آشکار
 گلبنے اینگونه نمودند بر دور چمن
 لالۂ زینگونه نکشود از میان لالۂ زار
 شاد شد دلہاکہ باز از آسمان عدل و داد
 باز دنیا زتدہ شد کز مہر ایام بہار
 آن ہلال برج قدر و جود و جاہ آمد بہر
 وان نہال آرزوے جان شاہ آمد بیمار
 شاہ اقلیم وفا سلطان ایوان صفا
 شمع جمع بیدلان کام دل امیدوار
 عادل کامل محمد اکبر صاحبقران
 پادشاہ نامدار کام جوے و کامگار
 کامل دانائے قابل اعدل شاہان بدھر
 عادل اعلائے عاقل بیعدیل روزگار
 سایۂ لطف الہ آن لایق تاج و نگین
 پادشاہ دین پناہ آن عادل عالم مدار
 مجلس ویرا سماء چارمین دان عود سوز
 موکب ویرا سماک رامع آمد نیزۂ دار
 نیر برج و جودے گوہر دریائے جود
 از ہوائے اوج دلہا شاہ باز و جاں شکار
 پادشاہا سلک لولوے نفیس آوردہ ام
 ہدیۂ کان گرامی باز جویان گوشدار

کس نیار هدیه زین به اگر دارن کسے ،
 هر که آرد گو بیا چیزے که دارن گو بیار
 مصرع اول زوے سال جلوس پادشاه
 از دویم مولود نور دیدہ عالم برآر
 تا بود باقی حساب روزهای ماه سال
 وای حساب از سال و ماه و روز و درای پایدار
 شاه ما پاینده باد و باقی آن شهزاده هم
 روزهای بیکیساب و سالهای بیشمار

The work is different from Khwāndāmīr's Humāyūn Nāma, already noticed under Bābur. It was

An unknown poet, author of an epic poem; Humāyūn Nāma.

not written during Humāyūn's lifetime, but after his death by an unknown poet of his or his successor's court. This is evident from the fact that Humāyūn is nowhere mentioned by name but by his posthumous title '*jannat āshyanī*' while Akbar is mentioned as the ruling monarch. It is written after the style and metre of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* commencing with the verse :

شبیے خاطر م بود فارغ ز خواب¹
 دل از نور اشراق شد کامیاب

Eight folios in the beginning and many at the end after 65b are missing. The author has attempted to follow Firdausī closely and to identify himself with him in the subject-matter. This is

¹ Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 9a.

perhaps the first instance in the literary history of the Mughals in India that the idea of writing an epic poem on the lines of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* and to idolise his hero, struck to a poet of Humāyūn's court. It is a valuable historical narrative of Humāyūn's and his predecessors' battles and conquests which are described in a language sufficiently worthy of the theme. A summary of its contents is as follows :

- I. Timūr's successors up to Humāyūn.
- II. Bābur's expedition to India, and his victory over Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi at Pānīpat.
- III. Bābur's illness. News carried to Humāyūn and his hurrying to Āgra. Bābur's declaration of his successor in Humāyūn, and his death.
- IV. Humāyūn's coronation followed by a general feast. Great rejoicing in the country. Rich gifts given, and robes of honour conferred.
- V. His battles with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī and Shēr Shāh. The latter's counter-attack and Humāyūn's defeat and flight across Sindh. Birth of Akbar at 'Umarkōt.
- VI. His activities in Turkistān, Qandhār, and Cābul. His fight with Kāmran. Defeat and pardon of the latter.
- VII. Humāyūn's taste for astrology and his prophecy regarding Akbar's future greatness.

VIII. His second expedition to Hindūstān. His battles with the Afghāns and Sikandar. Humāyūn's victory and accession to the throne.

The author has at places imitated Firdausi so closely in loftiness of expression, beauty of language and daintiness of similes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish which is which. He must be a great poet indeed from among the very best poets of Humāyūn's or Akbar's reign.¹ Some of his lines by way of sample are quoted below from the B. M. codex :—

Lines on Humāyūn's communication and fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī :—

شیدم ز دانا دلے هوشمند
که عاقل نخواهد بکس ناپسند
خصوصاً باقوام و خویش و تبار
که نقصان ایشان بود فنگ و عار

¹ Shibli on the alleged authority of Badāūnī states that Nazīrī, the famous lyric poet of Akbar's reign, had undertaken to write an epic poem entitled "Shāh Nāma i Humāyūnī," which remained unfinished, at the suggestion of Bairām Khān. [Shi'r-ul-'Ajam, Vol. III, p. 4.]

I was unable to discover the reference in Badāūnī, under both Nazīrī and Bairām Khān. Shibli has evidently confused Nazīrī, with Manzarī, a less important poet, who, according to Badāūnī had undertaken the task. [Vide Vol. III, pp. 340-41] Badāūnī has also quoted one verse as sample which I could not find in the B. M. codex.

همایون عزت شعار
 نمی خواست عاری بخویش و تبار
 فرستاد سوے بهادر پیام
 که بآقا ترا عیش و عشرت مدام
 بفرمانروائی شدی سرفراز
 بتقویت شاه دعلی طراز
 یقین نعمت از شکر افزون شود
 ز ناشکری از دست بیرون شود
 اگر سر تو بیچی ز فرمانبری
 تو بینی سرانجام این دآوری
 من از حسن الطاف کردم پیام
 تو دانی دگر بعد ازین والسلام
 بهادر چو این نامه را کرد گوش
 در آمد چو نابگردان در خروش
 بگفتا بمنشی نویس این جواب
 که آتش فرورد ز دریای آب
 چو نارغ شد از عرض او عرضه داشت
 بنوک زبان تخم ادبار کاشت
 بهادر چو بسیار مستی نمود
 بنا گفتنیها زبان برکشود
 بفرمان شاه زمین و زمان
 جهانی بتادیب او شد روان

بر آمد غریو روا رو بماه
 به مند و رسیدند هر دو سپاه
 دو دریای لشکر بقصد مصاف
 بتمکین گرو برده از کوه قاف
 بده ساقیا باده از جام هوش
 که هر کس ازو جرعه کرد نوش
 شهنشاہ انجم به نیلی حصار
 در آمد چو از هیبت کارزار
 فلک پرده از اطمس شب کشید
 پشه مشورت شاه خلوت گزید
 سران سپه جمله جمع آمدند
 چو پروانها گرد شمع آمدند
 که شمع که خورشید رفعت حباب
 به پروانگی یافت از و خطاب
 سپهر سخا شاه دریا نوال
 که در وصف او ناطقه ماند لال
 سحاب کرم را در بار کردن
 جهاں را پر از در شهوار کردن

Lines on Humāyūn's march from 'Irāq to Qandhār, and the capture of its fortress.

'سحرگه که خاقان خاور سپاه
 برآمد ازین نیلگون بارگاه...

¹ Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 25a.

چو انجم ازیں چرخ نیلوفری
 نہ عسکر بجای ماند و نے عسکری
 و لیکن بہ قلعه در آمد براغ
 دل خلق را سوخت مانند داغ
 چو قلعه باں ترک سرکش فتاد
 خرد گفت در قلعه آتش فتاد
 وای آنچنا آتشی بر فروخت
 کہ مانند دشمن دل دوست سوخت
 بساں خزینہ دقینہ تمام
 شدی مجلس آراے ہر خاص و عام
 خزینہ خرابات سان شد خراب
 زر سرخ ہر سو رواں چوں شراب

CHAPTER IV

The greater part of Humāyūn's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The

Progress of
Urdū in Humā-
yūn's reign.

extent of progress made by Urdū in his reign is hardly ascertainable due to the scantiness of material, but there could be no doubt that the same

was progressing steadily in the whole of Upper Hindūstān, including the Punjab and the Gujarāt. The appearance of Hindi-Persian poets in increasing numbers is a good testimony of the gradual hold of Hindi over Persian, and their mutual growth and free play with each other. An evidence of same is to be found in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humāyūn in his fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarāti. When Humāyūn led an attack on Mālwa in 942 A.H., Sultān Bahādur, better known as Bahādur Shāh, at the advice of his faithless General Rūmī Khān, unwisely took refuge in the fort outside the city, instead of meeting his enemy face to face in battle. The siege lasted for several weeks till at last Humāyūn's officers, who had secretly won over Rūmī Khān to their side, began to intercept the supplies of food sent to Bahādur Shāh which weakened the position of the besieged a great deal. In addition to this treachery, Rūmī Khān one night caused his men to set fire to the royal magazine, and this was followed by an attack from Humāyūn's troops who eventually entered the fort unmolested. Thus Bahādur Shāh was overcome

and fled to Gujarāt for his life. He had a favourite bird—a tūti which repeated what it heard like a human being. When it was brought to Humāyūn in the open court, Rūmī Khān also was invited by the king to be present. On Rūmī Khān's entering the court, Humāyūn courteously said, "خوش بیاند رومی خان" (welcome Rūmī Khān). The bird hearing his name screamed aloud

A parrot uttering an Urdu phrase.

"پت پاپی رومی خان نمکھرام پت پاپی نمکھرام"²
(Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt). All amazed, and Humāyūn said :—

چکنم رومی خان حیف کہ جانور است سزاوار
عقوبت نیست إلا زبانش از دهانش بر می کندم—

What can I do Rūmī Khān, alas, it is a bird, otherwise I would have pulled its tongue from its mouth.

The speech of the bird is a curious combination of Hindī, Persian and Arabic words, systematically arranged and put in a sentence.³ This is perhaps the best example of Urdū that could be traced in the reign of Humāyūn, and serves to show how people were accustomed to talk in their homes and on private occasions. Of the many

¹ Mir'āti Sikandarī MSS., dated 1087 A.H., fol. 107a.

² Ibid., fol. 108b.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Phit* and *Pāpī* are Hindī, and *namak* Persian, compounded with *harām*, Arabic. Also cf. a similar instance of a parrot speaking Persian cited under Bābur. [*Supra*, p. 76.]

poets cited under Humāyūn, Badāūni has referred to some who composed both in Hindi and Persian. On the same authority we learn that their hybrid composition had found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions sung before Humāyūn. Thus the already

A definite advance made by Urdu, under Hindū-Muslim cultivation of each other's literature.

existing relations between Hindi and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humāyūn than under Bābur. Both the Hindūs and the Muslims now appear to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in the cultivation but also in the use of each other's literature. The Muslims though from the very beginning showed no such bias in the acquisition of Hindi language, yet they had not taken to do it so freely as they did now. The Hindūs too in their turn, owing to their unavoidable social and political relations with the Muslims, were doing the same. The Rājput Princes and the Hindū Rājās, for holding necessary communications with the Muslim conquerors, kept at their courts a special staff well-equipped to deal with the original Persian documents. In certain cases where the papers were of a confidential nature, the Rājās themselves used to attend to them. Similarly the Muslims behaved and kept a competent staff

Faked Hindi letters of Rājās to Shēr Shāh, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter.

ready at hand to cope with Hindi correspondence. A good instance of the Rājās' writing to Shēr Shāh fictitious letters in Hindi with their forged replies in Persian, which were purposely

thrown in the way of Rājā Māldeo, as a trap, and picked up and read by the latter personally, is to be found in the following:—

‘راجہا فرصت یافته نزد شیر شاہ آمدند و بمشورت
شیر شاہ کتابات از زبان امرای مالدیو بخط ہندی
بشیر شاہ نوشتند کہ ما بنا بر ضرورت دریں مدت
اطاعت مالدیو میکردیم..... ہر گاہ لشکر ظفر اثر اسلام
نزدیک برسد ما از راجہ مالدیو جدا شدہ بموکب
عالی ملحق میگردیم و بر وفق همان مکاتیب نیز از
زبان شیر شاہ نوشتند کہ انشاء اللہ تعالی بعد از فتح
و مغلوبیت مالدیو شما را معزز و مکرم داشتہ جمیع اقطاع
موروثی آب و اجداد شما را بشما ارزانی میدارم..... پس
آن کتابات مزور را بلطایف الکیل بدست مالدیو
انداختند و مالدیو کہ ہمیشہ از زمینداران و امرای
خود اندیشہ و دغدغہ در خاطر داشت از مطالعہ
مکاتیب ہراسان شدہ..... و کوفہا و دیگر امرای
او ہر چند نصیحت کردند سودمند نیفتاد -

The Rājās obtaining opportunity came to Shēr Shāh, and in consultation with him wrote letters to him from the tongue of the *Umarā* of Māldeo in Hindī script, saying, “We through necessity did homage to Māldeo up till now. When the victorious army of Islām will reach near, we, having separated ourselves from Rājā Māldeo, will join your

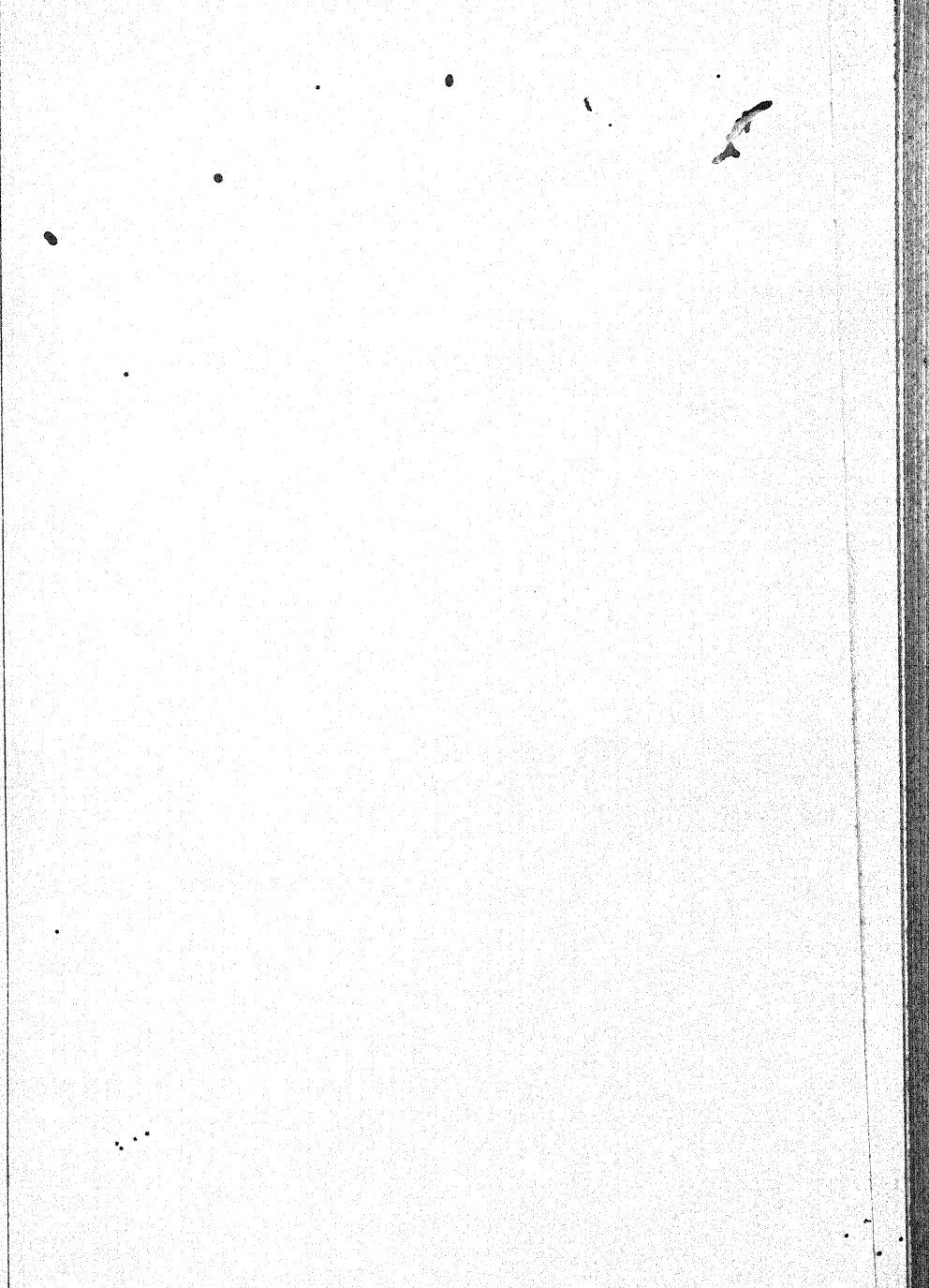
¹ Farishta, Vol. I, pp. 426-427.

Majesty's forces." And in accordance with these letters they also wrote from the tongue of Shēr Shāh stating "God willing, after our victory and subjection of Māldeo, I will hold you in honour and esteem, and will reinstate you in all your ancestral possessions." Thereafter they made those false letters fall through clever devices into the hands of Māldeo. And Māldeo who always entertained fear and anxiety in his heart against his Zamīndārs and *Umarā* got terrified on perusing those letters and Kūnhaiyā and other nobles, however much they counselled him, it proved of no avail.

As a result of this harmony and interalliance, Growth of Muslim poets of Hindī language and Hindū writers of Persian prose and poetry. Muslim poets of Hindī language on the one hand, and Hindū writers of Persian on the other, sprang up in ever so large numbers under the patronage of the later Mughal emperors.

During Humāyūn's absence from India the same feature prevailed in the reign of Shēr Shāh, and the number of such poets as composed both in Hindī and Persian kept multiplying. The Muslim interest in Hindī literature under Shēr Shāh is evidently more marked than before, due perhaps to his own predilections for Hindī. The appearance of a renowned poet of Hindī language, Malik Muhammad Jā'isi, who is described under Shēr Shāh marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India. It is a notable

departure from the old customary traditions of mixing Hindī with Persian, for his poems were composed in terse Hindī almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.





SHER SHĀH SEATED ON HIS THRONE.

[From an album of Pathān kings.]

CHAPTER V

A portion of the period of Humāyūn's rule is covered by Shēr Shāh who held undisputed sway of Hindūstān for five years during

Shēr Shāh :
his name and
parentage.

Humāyūn's exile. His real name was Farid, and his title '*Shēr Khān*' which was conferred upon him by Sultān Muhammad, ruler of Behār, due to the extraordinary valour shown by Farid in killing a tiger. On his defeating Humāyūn and ascending the throne at Delhi, he changed '*Shēr Khān*' into '*Shēr Shāh*.' His grandfather, Ibrāhīm Sūr, had come down to India from Afghānistān in the reign of Sultān Bahlōl Lōdī, and served under him in various capacities. After Ibrāhīm's death, his son Hasan Sūr took service under Jamāl Khān, an influential noble of Sikandar Lōdī's court, and received as '*jāgīr*' the important '*parganās*' of Sahsrām and Khawāspūr which remained for long a bone of contention between Farid and his brothers.

In his early youth he had left his home, through domestic unpleasantness, for Jaunpūr, where he busied himself in the pursuit of know-

His literary
attainment
and patronage
of letters.

ledge, and acquired a taste for history and literature. He studied Arabic grammar up to '*Kāfiya*' and sundry works of Persian poets like Sa'dī and Nizāmī :

فرید بدقترب نامهربانی پدر و خصومت برادران
 جدا شده ترک نوکری جمال خاں نموده چندگاه در جونپور
 به تحصیل علوم و کسب کمالات میگزرانید تا آنکه
 کتاب کافیہ را باحواشی و دیگر مختصرات خواند و
 از کتب سوان گلستان و بوستان و سکندرنامہ و غیر آن
 نیز استحضار گرفت و پیرامون خوانق و مدارس گشتہ
 در صحبت علما و مشایخ کبار آن دیار بہ تہذیب
 اخلاق مشغول شد -

Farid due to the unkindness of his father and the enmity of his brothers, having separated from them, and resigned his service under Jamāl Khān, passed some time at Jaunpūr in gathering knowledge and the acquirement of perfections, till the time he read '*Kāfiya*' with commentaries and other compendiums. And he also read the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, and *Sikandar Nāma* and other works besides, and having approached monasteries and schools, he busied himself in the purification of morals in the society of the learned and the great Shaikhs of that locality.

و در فن تاریخ نیز باوقوف شد -

¹ Badā'uni, Vol. I, 357.

Also, refer Qānūngō's life of Shēr Shāh.

² Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'āni (bound with Nafāi's ul Ma'āsir), B.M.MSS., Or, 1761, fol. 126a.

And, in the branch of history as well he became conversant.

Like his predecessor, Sultān Sikandar Lōdī, he patronised the students of Arabic and Persian literature, and attached great importance to

A young student of Arabic rewarded by Shēr Shāh for correct answers to questions on Arabic grammar.

educational merit in all public services.

In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him¹ and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and partici-

pating in same. Once a Qāzī of his court, who was accompanied by a young student, came to see him. The keen interest evinced by the latter in the youth and the patronage shown to him is described as follows :

جواني باقاضي همراه - شیرشاه از قاضي پرسید
که این همراهی شما میدانم که خویشی بشما داشته
باشد اما هیچ فضیلت هم دارن قاضي گفت طالبعلم
است کافیه میخواند شیرشاه چون کافیه را با حواشی
درست بکامار داشت از آن طالبعلم پرسید که عمر
منصرفست یا غیر منصرف طالبعلم عرض نمود که غیر
منصرفست شیرشاه فرمود که بچه دلیل طالبعلم از روی
فهمیدگی بدلائل معقولي جواب هوشمندانه بدان

¹ Cf. [Tārīkh i Shēr Shāh khud Muallim bi al-ʿUlūm wa al-Funūn, B.M. MSS. Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

Also Cf. Bāgh i Dār al-ʿUlūm wa al-Funūn, B.M. MSS. Or. 197, fol. 77a. [Maʿāni, ut supra].

² Ibid., fol. 80a.

شیرشاه فرمود که پانصد بیگه زمین و پانصد روپیه نقد باو بدهند طالبعلم عرض نمود که بنده يك قابليت ديگر هم دارد شیرشاه فرمود که کدام قابليت است گفت حافظ کلام رباني ام شیرشاه فرمود که پانصد بیگه و پانصد روپيه ديگر بهی بیفزایند مقارن آن حالت از طالبعلم پرسید که موافق قابليت خود معاش و زر نقد یافتي عرض نمود که بله یافتم کرم پادشاهانه نیافتم شیر شاه فرمود که پانصد بیگه زمین و پانصد روپيه نقد ديگر بیفزایند -

A youth accompanied the Qāzī. Shēr Shāh asked the Qāzī, "I presume that this comrade of yours bears some relationship with you, but does he possess any merit also"? The Qāzī replied, "The youth is a student, and reads '*Kāfiya*.' Shēr Shāh, since he had retained in his recollection the '*Kāfiya*' with its correct commentaries, asked that student, "Is '*Umar munsarif*' or '*ghair munsarif*'?" The student replied, '*ghair munsarif*.' Shēr Shāh said, "With what argument?" The student gave an intelligent answer with his arguments based on logical reasoning. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 '*bigah*' of land and 500 rupees cash be given to him. The student said, "I possess one more merit." Shēr Shāh asked, "What is that?" The student replied, "I retain in my memory the Divine book." Shēr Shāh ordered that

500 'bigah' and 500 rupees more be added to his share. Simultaneously with that, he asked the student, "Did you get the means of living and the cash money according to your merits?" The student replied, "Yes, I got them, but I have not yet received the generosity of the king." Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 'bigah' of land and 500 rupees cash more be added.

He had a good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Hindī under the pen-name 'Farīd.' The following Persian verse of his own composition was his monogram which he got inscribed on his seal.

His taste for
Persian and
Hindī poetry.

شہ الہ باقی ترا باد دایم
بمان شیر شہ بن حسن سور قایم

God keep thee king for ever.

Live in peace Shēr Shāh, son of Hasan Sūr.

On one occasion when Humāyūn's army in a contest with Shēr Shāh was completely routed and many of the soldiers and notable officers were drowned in

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

NOTE.—The author of Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī puts the first hemistich as follows:

شہ الہ باقی بر ار باد دایم

God, the king. (or, God, the Eternal King), may remain over him always.

[Ibid., B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

the river while crossing same, Shēr Shāh composed a very opportune quatrain as follows :

خدایا توانا تونگر توئی
تواناے درویش پرور توئی
فرید حسن را تو شاهی دهی
سپاہ ہمایوں ہماہی دهی

O God, Mighty and Rich art Thou,
Thou art the Mighty Supporter of the poor ;
Thou givest royalty to Farid, son of Hasan,
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fish.

In his composition he followed the current Indian style which was on the lines of flowery Persian.

² و شعر فارسی بروش مردم ہندوستان گفتے

And Persian verses he composed after the manner of the people of Hindūstān.

He also composed verses in Hindī and was a patron of Hindī poetry. The chief Hindī and Persian poets of his court were respectively Malik Muhammad Jāi'sī (the author of Padumāwat), and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh.

There is a Persian-Arabic verse of his as follows :

¹ Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (bound with Nafāis ul Ma'āsir)
B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 130a.

² Tarikh i Dā'ūdī, B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.

١ با ما چه کرد دیدی ملو غلام گیدی
قولیست مصطفی را لا خیر فی العبیدی

With us what did Mullū do ? the slave, the
cursed,
The Prophet has said, " There is no good in
slaves."

He evinced good taste and fine poetic humour on many occasions. Once on being told that his beard had grown white, he replied that it was true, since he wore the crown towards the evening of his life.

He died while storming the fort of Kālinjar in 952 A.H., through the bursting of an enemy rocket which caused a fire in the magazine. The date of his death was found in the most suggestive phrase "ز آتش مرد" in the following chronogram composed by one of his court poets.

شیر شاه آنکه از مهابت او
شیر و بز آب را بهم میخورد

¹ Badā'ūnī, Vol. I, p. 365.

NOTE.—Shēr Shāh had composed this verse on the occasion when Mullū Khān, ruler of Mālwa playing false, had one night surreptitiously disappeared from Shēr Shāh's camp, although the latter had shown him great favour and taken him into confidence.

Farishta attributes the second hemistich to Shaikh 'Abdul Hai who had composed it offhand to match with Shēr Shāh's first hemistich. [Farishta, Vol. I, p. 425.] The same is corroborated by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad : Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 231.]

² Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

از جهان رفت گفت پیر خرد
سال تاریخ او ز آتش مرد

Shēr Shāh is he through whose terror,
The lion and the goat drank water together ;
He went away from the world ; old Wisdom
uttered,
The year of his death, "from the fire he died."

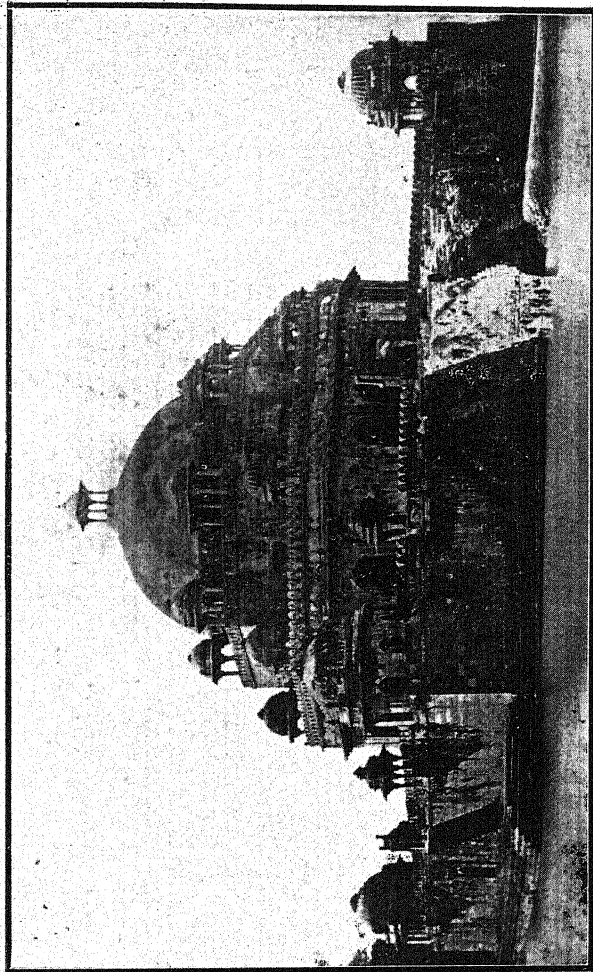
Historians are unanimously agreed that Shēr Shāh was a just, wise, and capable monarch, and his reign was distinguished for peace and tranquillity. Badāūni congratulates himself on his birth having taken place in the reign of a just monarch like Shēr Shāh¹ in the following words which shower a most glowing tribute of praise that could ever be paid to any Muslim king :

و بحمد الله که در زمان اینچنین ملکی کما قال النبی
علیه السلام انا ولدت فی زمان الملك العادل تولد صاحب
این منتخب در هفتم شهر ربیع الثانی در سنه سبع
و اربعین و تسعمایه واقع شد -

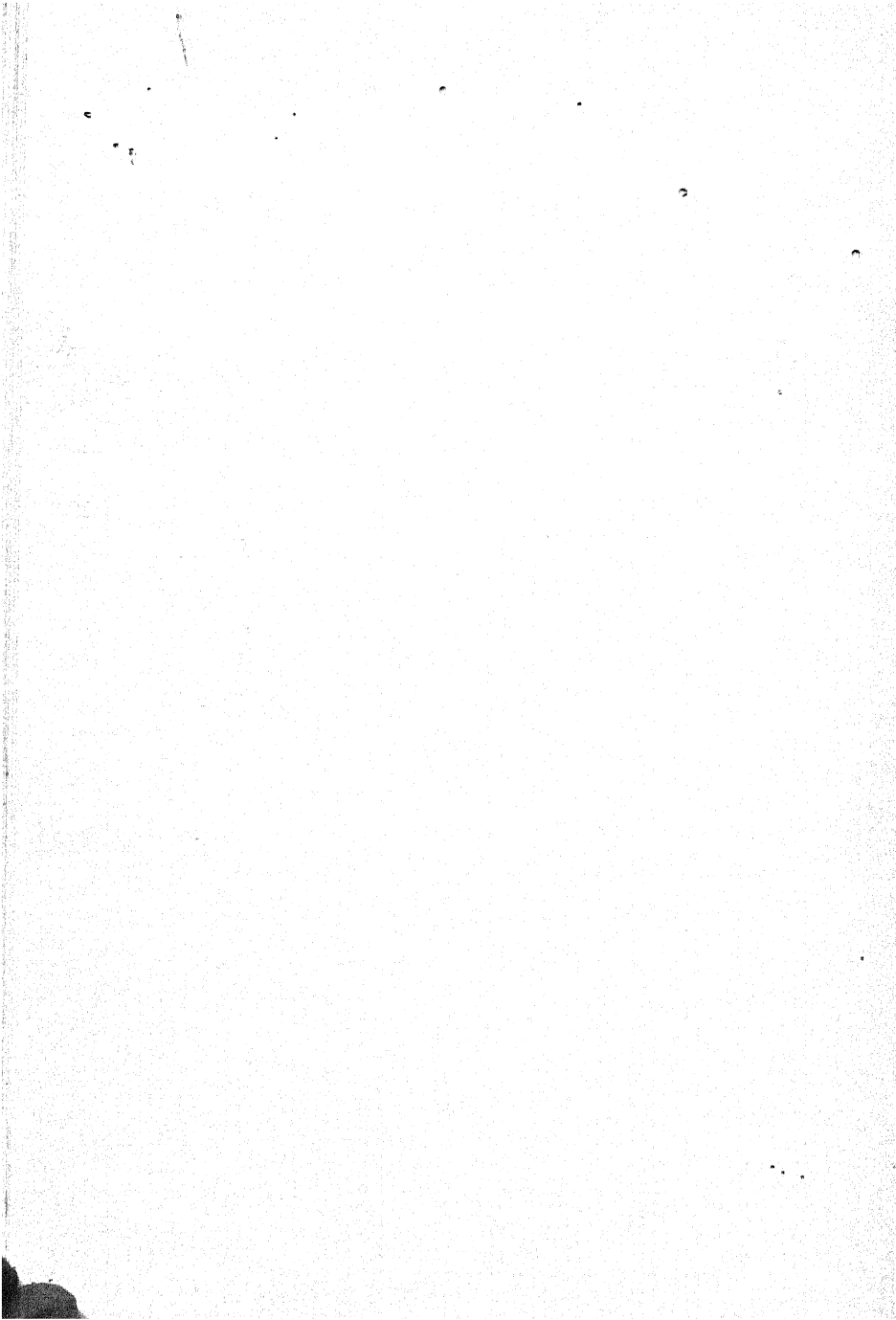
And God be praised that in the regime of such a king as said by the Prophet (may peace be upon him), "I was born in the reign of a just monarch," the birth of the author

¹ This encomium of Badāūni is significant since he had no word of praise for his own sovereign, Akbar, by whom he was patronised.

² Badāūni, Vol. I, p. 363.



TOMB OF SHER SHAH AT SASRAM
DT. SHAHABAD, BENGAL.



of this 'Muntakhab' took place on the 17th of the month of *Rabī'us Sānī* in the year 947 A.H.

Farishta holds the same view of Shēr Shāh's just and peaceful administration and says that he performed many deeds of public good in building *Cāravānsarās* for the Hindūs and the Muslims alike on the main roads from Bengāl to the Indus (a distance of 1500 *kōs*), and from Āgra to Māndū (a distance of 300 *kōs*), requisitioning them with plentiful supplies of food and provision, and making these routes perfectly safe for journey :

۱ و در هر يك كروه سراے ساخته چاه و مسجد از
خشت پخته و گچ پرداخته مؤذن و مقري و امامي مقرر
نموده آنها را وظيفه معين كرده و در هر سراے يك دروازه
طعام پخته و خام براے مسلمانان و دروازه ديگر كذا
برای هندوان مقرر نموده و در عهدش امنيت
بمرتبه بود كه متردين در صكرا و بيابان هرجا ميرسيدند
از كالای خود اندیشه نكرده بفراغت می غنودند گویند
اگر زالے با سبدي پر از طلا در صكرا شبها خواب كردي
حاجت پاسبان اصلا نمودي اكثر اوقات خون را
صرف كار خلائی كردي و سر انجام سپاه و تيمار رعایا
بواجبی نمودي و بر طريقه عدل و داد استقامت داشتی -

And at the end of every *kōs* he got built a
Sarāi, a mosque, and a well, from lime and

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

baked brick. He appointed a " *mu'azzin*," a reader of the Qur'ān, and an Imām, and fixed gratuities for each of them. And in every *Sarāi* he fixed one gate for cooked food and rations for the Muslims, and another similar gate for the Hindūs. And in his reign such was the public security that travellers in jungle and desert, wherever they reached, went to sleep without apprehension for their property. It is said that if an old woman with a tray full of gold slept at nights in a desert there was no need for a watch at all. Often he devoted himself to public service and duly attended to the affairs of his army and the welfare of his subjects, and persevered in the path of equity and justice.

He is a most important poet of the court of Shēr Shāh. He combined the Sanskrit and Persian scholarship with poetic attainments, and was regarded as a Sūfi. He was patronised by Shēr Shāh whom he eulogised in his memorable Hindi poem, the '*Padumāvati*' which was a notable undertaking by a Muslim. It was

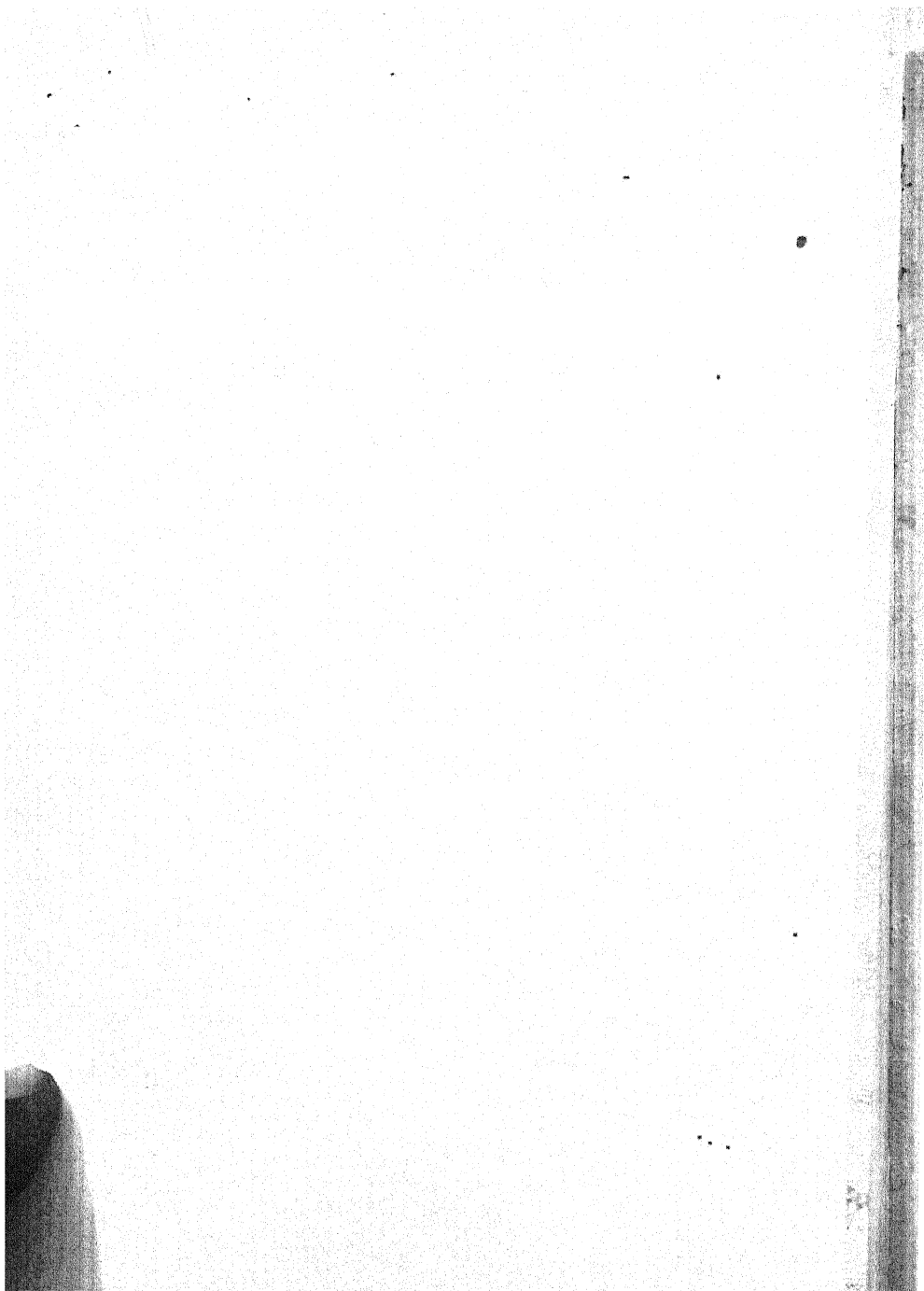
Malik Muhammad Jā'isi
a poet of
epoch-making
significance.

¹ A woman of remarkable beauty, daughter of the Rājā of Ceylon, seized by the Rājā of Chittaur, and afterwards fell in possession of Sultān 'Alā'uddin Khiljī. Her story is also written in Persian poetry by one Husain Ghaznawī. Another by Rāi Gobind Munshī. Also in Urdū verse by the joint efforts of Mīr Ziyā'uddin 'Ibrat, and Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat.



MALIK MUHAMMAD JĀ'ISĪ, THE RENOWNED
POET OF SHER SHĀH.

[Kindly lent by Prof. A. Qavi Fāni, M.A., Lucknow University.]



written in 947 A.H., in terse Hindī language occasionally mixed with Persian and easy Hindī words. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian characters for his text, an event of epoch-making significance in the history of both Hindī and Persian literatures in India :

“Malik Muhammad is, we believe, the oldest poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. The preservation of Padumāvati is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muhammad’s religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabir, and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore and with the Hindū Yōga philosophy, he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muhammadan co-religionists. He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān predilections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character, and hence discarded all the favourite devices of Pandits who tried to make their language correct by spelling vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of the 16th century.”¹

¹ G. H. Grierson and Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhā Karan Dvivedī, *Padumāvati*, Vol. I, Introduction, Calcutta, 1911.

He was a disciple of two prominent Sūfis, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr and Sayyid Muhi'ūddīn,¹ whose praises he sang in his poems calling them as his masters and steersmen. He also poured unqualified praise on Shēr Shāh for his just and peaceful reign, and for his literary patronage. He is one of the three great Muslim poets of Hindi² who flourished in India in the 16th century A.D., and helped towards the formation and growth of modern Urdū the lingua franca of India.

¹ These two in their lifetimes had considerable influence over the people of Upper Hindūstān, and belonged to the Chishtiya Nizāmiya order.

² The other two being Kabīr of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī (already described under Bābur), and Rahīm of the reign of Akbar (to be discussed hereafter).

CHAPTER VI

. He met his tragic death at Delhi in 963 A.H., by an accidental fall from the terrace of his library where he often retired in the after-
Humāyūn's death. noons to amuse himself with books.

That evening also according to his wont, having examined his bookshelves, he walked on to the terrace to enjoy fresh air. Just when he was descending the staircase the 'mū'azzin' gave a call to prayers, on hearing which he went down on his knees in holy reverence. When the 'azān' was over, he rose supporting himself on a staff which unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and he fell down headlong several steps. He received great injuries in his head and arm, and was removed to his palace insensible. On the fifth day he expired.¹ Thus ended the life of one of the most

¹ Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have probably used the Turkī work '*Mir'āt ul Mamālik*' of Sīdī 'Alī Reīs who was then personally present at the court and describes the event with almost the same accuracy of detail as do Badāūnī and Abul Fazl, with the following notable differences:

(i) Sīdī 'Alī Reīs omits to say from what part or section of the castle Humāyūn fell; while Badāūnī and Abul Fazl make it quite clear by stating that the fall occurred from the building known as '*Kitāb Khāna*' (library).

humane monarchs of the Mughal dynasty, a lover of science and literature, and a character nobler than any to be found in the long line of the Mughal kings.

The court poets wrote chronograms¹ each trying to excel the other in poetic grace and plain-tiveness. Of the numerous chronograms the best was of Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī quoted by Jauhar and reproduced on p. 55 *supra*. Elegiac poems were also written

Elegiac
poems.

- (ii) Sīdī 'Alī Reīs makes Humāyūn die on the fourth day of his fall. Cf. the statement :

حکمت اللہک جمعہ کون اختتام نمازی و قنندہ پادشاہ..... دوشنبہ
کون دار رحمتدن جوار رحمة انتقال ایتدیار -
[Mir'āt ul Mamālik, p. 55];

while Abul Fazl on the fifth day; and Badāūnī on the ninth. Cf. the statement :

در تاریخ هفتم شهر ربیع الاول پادشاہ بر بالائے یام کتابخانه... پر
آمدند و در حین فرود آمدن... پائے ایشان بلغزید و از چند زینہ
پایہ غلطیدہ بزمین آمدند و در پانزدهم ماہ مذکور این عالم بیوقا را
یدرود کردند -

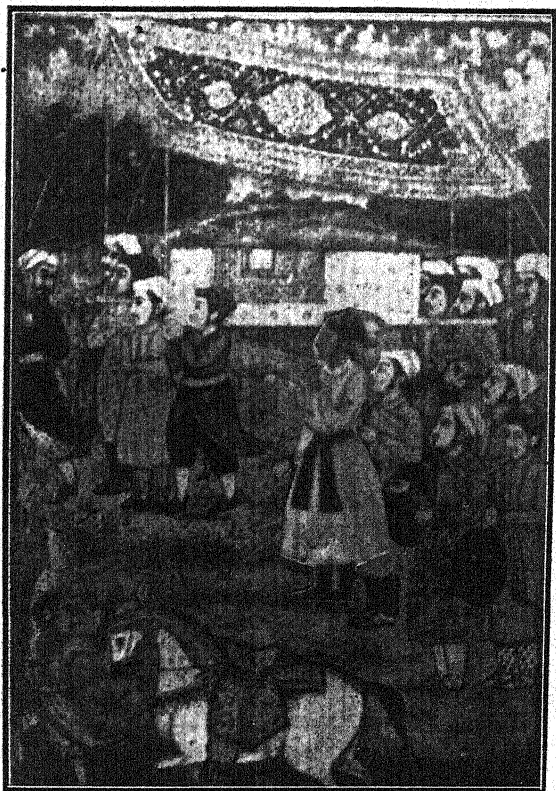
[Badāūnī, Vol. I, pp. 465-466]

I suspect that پانزدهم is a misprint for یازدهم. If so, the versions of Badāūnī and Abul Fazl tally with Jauhar who, though gives no details, yet declares that the fall took place on the 7th and the death on the 11th.

¹ Cf. Maulānā Hisārī's chronogram :

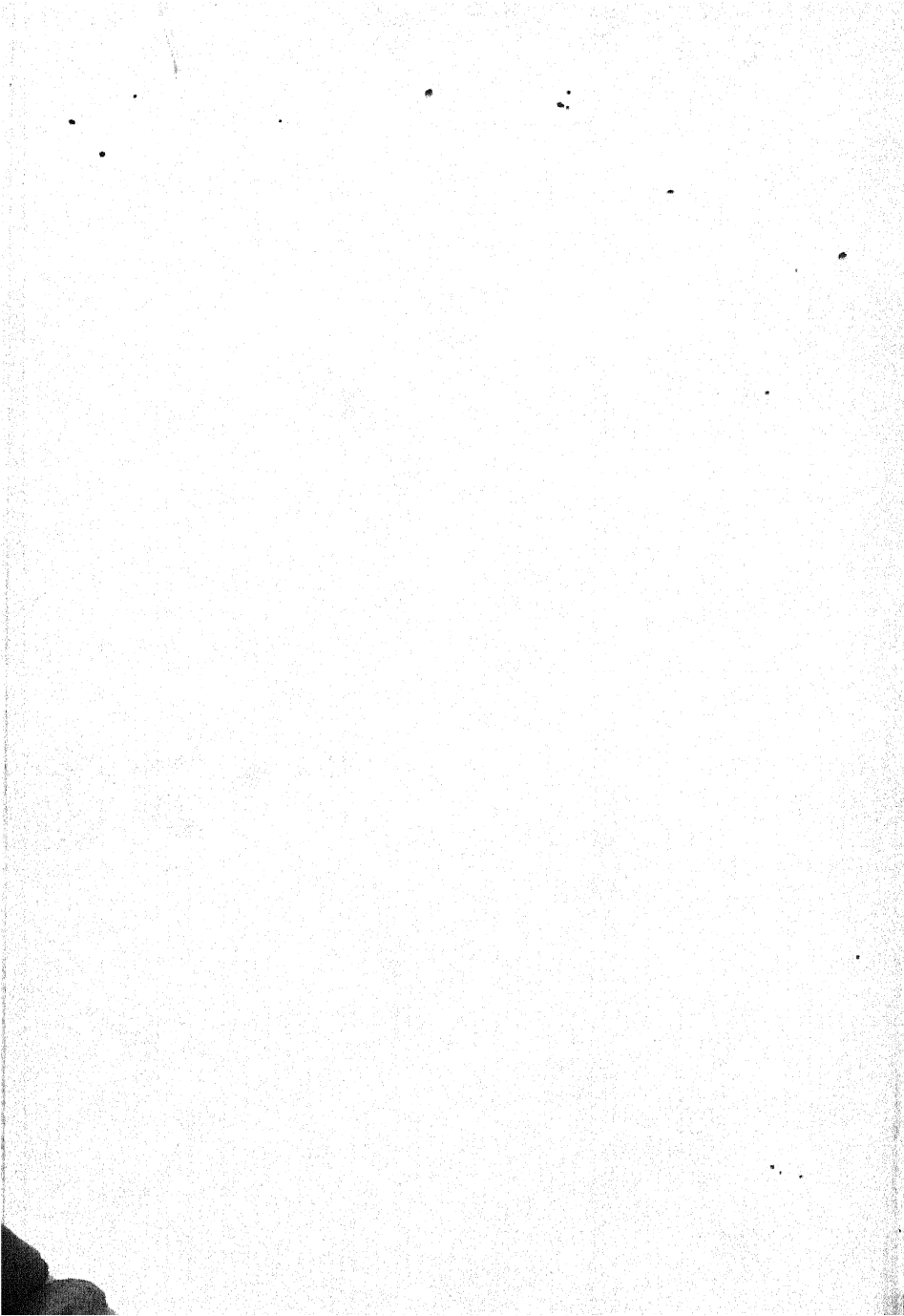
و اصل حق شد ہمایوں پادشاہ

(Humāyūn Pādishāh united with God). Also Cf. Mir 'Abdul Hai's اور تاد من از یام (Humāyūn Pādishāh united with God). Also Cf. Mir 'Abdul Hai's اور تاد من از یام O alas! my king fell down from the terrace (Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368).



HUMĀYŪN'S REMAINS BEING CARRIED TO THE BURIAL GROUND:
THE YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR ACCOMPANYING THE CORTEGE.

[Acquired at Lucknow.]



of which the most touching was from the pen of Khwāja Husain Mervi as follows :

اے دل صداے مرگ ترا ہم شنیدنی ست
 صبح اجل بمطلع عمرت دمیدنی ست
 چوں کل نفس ذائقۃ الموت حکم شد
 میدان یقین کہ شربت مرگت چشیدنی ست
 این نام زندگی کہ نہادند مر ترا
 نام ترا بطرف صامت کشیدنی ست
 غرہ مشو باین گل بستان زندگی
 باد خزاں دریں گل و بستان وزیدنی ست
 از گوش خویشتن شنوی کان فلاں نمازد
 در گوش دیگران خبرت ہم رسیدنی ست

O heart, thou too hast to hear the call of
 death,
 The morn of death is to appear on the hori-
 zon of thy life;
 Since it was ordained ' every soul must taste
 of death,'
 Know for certain that thou hast to taste the
 drink of death;
 This name of life that they gave to thee,
 Is only to draw thy name towards death;
 Do not pride thyself on this rose of the
 garden of life,

The wind of autumn has to blow in this rose
and the garden;
Thou hearest with thine own ears that a
certain one passed away,
In the ears of others thy news also has to go.

Humāyūn, unlike his father, was a monarch
more of literary tendencies than of administrative
His wit and bent¹ and possessed a keen sense
humour. of humour hardly surpassed by any

¹ He was so fond of study that he took his books with him everywhere in his travels. Even in his flight under adverse circumstances he did not suffer to leave behind his library of which he took great care during all his journeys to and from Persia, across the deserts and in the thick of battles against his foes. Cf. his inquisitiveness about the same after his party was attacked by Kāmran.

چون کامران میرزا جمعیتی و علمای خوب دید دانست که پادشاه
است بیکبارگی حمله کرد و درون قلعه مالقان درآمد..... حضرت خبر
از کتابخانه پرسید عرض کردند که سلامت است -

Since Kāmran Mirzā saw a large crowd with banners he thought it was his Majesty and attacked at once, and entered the fort of Tāliqān. His Majesty enquired about the library. They replied that it was quite safe. (Tazkirat ul Wāqī'at B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 99a.) Also cf., his delight at receiving books presented to him by a Persian noble at Zankān near Tabriz:

و حسین قلی میرزا برادر احمد سلطان از مشهد بدیدن والده
و برادران آمده بود که رخصتی مکه معظمه حاصل نماید بندگان
حضرت را ملازمت کرد کتاب چندی که داشت پیشکش نمود از
کتابها آنچه خوش آمدند گرفتند و تهنه را بار بخشیدند -

other monarch of his line. In his display and appreciation of wit he may be compared to his ancestor Timūr; in his love for science to Ulūgh Bēg; and in his poetic insight to Jahāngīr. A few instances of same are quoted below :

و قرجه خان را شمشیر در گردن کرده آوردند چو
 بمشعل که نزدیک دربار بود رسید حکم کردند که چو
 مرد ریش سفید است و هدیه هم گفته ایم شمشیر از گردن
 او بردارند.....بعد از آن حسین قلی سلطان مهر دار
 این بیت را خواند

چراغی را که این در فرورزن

هر آنکو تف زند ریشش بسوزن

و قرجه خان چو ریش دراز داشت این بیت بمکل واقع
 شد حضرت ازین سخن کمال خوشحالی نمودند -

And they brought Qarjā Khān with sword
 hung round his neck. When he reached the
 torch which was near the *Audience Hall*,

And Husain Quli Mirzā, brother of Ahmad Sultan, who had come from Mashad to see his mother and brothers to obtain leave for Mecca, interviewed his Majesty, and presented some books which he possessed. Out of these books his Majesty took some which pleased him and gave back the rest.

(Tārikh-i-Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 3b.)

Also cf., his death by a fall from the terrace of his library to which he repaired in the afternoons for his mental recreation.

¹ Ibid., foll. 36b and 37a.

Humāyūn ordered that as Qarjā Khān was grey-haired and we had also perjured his blood, the sword should be removed from his neck. After this Husain Quli Sultān, the seal-bearer, recited this verse :

The lamp which is lit by God,
Whoever puffs at it his beard burns.

And since Qarjā Khān had a long beard this verse came opportune. His Majesty enjoyed this wit in the extreme.

Another instance of his ready wit is to be found in the following :

شیخ علی بیگ بهبود چوبدار را گفت که مبارکبادی
بحضرت پادشاه رفته بدو بهبود مذکور روان شد
نظر حضرت بریں سوار افتاد پرسیدند که کدام سوار
اینکه می آید مردم بقیاس عرض کردند که بهبود چوبدار
باشد حضرت پادشاه تفاؤل بشارت نیک گرفت و فرمودند
که انشاء الله بهبود خواهد بود -

Shaikh 'Ali Bēg asked Bihbūd Chūbdār to go and congratulate his Majesty. The aforesaid Bihbūd started off. The eye of his Majesty fell on this rider and he asked, "Who is this rider that cometh"? People by mere guess replied that he might be 'Bihbūd' Chūbdār. His Majesty took this to be a good omen and said, "God be pleased, it would be '*bihbūd*'" (*i.e.*, it would turn out good).

¹ Tāzkirat ul Wāqī'āt, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 48b.

On one occasion Humāyūn composed a 'qit'a' in which he very beautifully played on the word چتور (*chitaur*), and sent it on to Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī:

اے کہ ہستی غنیم شہر چتور
 کانراں را چطور میگیری
 پادشاہی رسید بر سر تو
 تو نشسته چطور میگیری

O thou who art the enemy of the city of
 Chitaur,
 How (*chitaur*) wilt thou capture the un-
 believers?
 A king has reached over thy head,
 Sitting, art thou taking Chitaur ?

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 399.

Cf., Bahādur Shah's reply :

من کہ ہستم غنیم شہر چتور * کانراں را بجزور میگیرم
 ہر کہ بکند حمایت چتور * تو ببین کش چطور میگیرم

I, who am the enemy of Chitaur,
 Will capture the infidels by force ;
 Whoever stands in defence of Chitaur,
 Thou may'st see how I capture him also.

It may be observed that Bahādur's reply is only a repetition of Humāyūn's wit, and carries no originality or improvement upon the latter.

He was a monarch of great humanity and possessed of very noble traits of character.¹ He was disposed to spend his time more in literary and peaceful concerns than aggression and military tactics on the battlefield.

His gentlest behaviour towards his brothers² through whose undisguised hostility he suffered

¹ Cf. Shāh Tahmāsp's remark about Humāyūn's character on his interceding for the pardon and release of two of his enemies who had poisoned the Shāh's mind against him, and were eventually convicted for the offence :

چوں رفته رسید و خواندند حضرت شاه عالم پناه در تعجب شدند
و فرمودند که مستعد همایون پادشاه چه حلم دارد این مردم در بے
آزار وے بودند درینولا شقاقت ایشان میکند -

When the letter reached and the Shāh read it, he became astonished and said, "What. clement disposition does Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh possess! These people were seeking his injury, but he intercedes for them. [Jauhar, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 79a.]

Also cf. his reply to the counsel of one of his officers to take possession of Rāja Māldeo's territory where Humāyūn's party was then taking shelter and had procured plentiful supply of grain and water :

اگر بفرس پادشاهی روے زمین بدهند من اینچنین کار قبیح و
نفران نمی کنم

If they were to give me the kingship of the whole world, I will not commit so foul a deed or be guilty of such ingratitude. [Ibid.]

² Cf. his reply to the counsel of his Generalissimo importuning him to kill Kāmran who was in intrigue with Shēr Shāh, and seeking to dispossess Humāyūn of his kingdom :

exile and reverses in his fights with Shēr Shāh, is a glorious chapter in history and a splendid trait in his character. One sublime example of his tender, grateful, and generous nature, is to be found in the munificent reward that he gave to a poor water-carrier who had helped him with a sheep-skin when his horse had slipped from underneath him in crossing the Ganges at Chausa.¹ It is a romantic and almost

برای این دنیای ناپایدار برادر خود را از جان بیعتان نمی کنم... و
اینچنین کار ناشایسته از من نمی آید

For this perishable world I will not render my brother from life to lifeless, and such unworthy act will not emanate from me. [Ibid., fol. 34b]

- ¹ Cf. the protests of his brothers against this measure, and its extreme inadvisability due to the grave risks involved in compelling his nobles to bow publicly to a menial at a time when danger from Shēr Shāh was threatening :

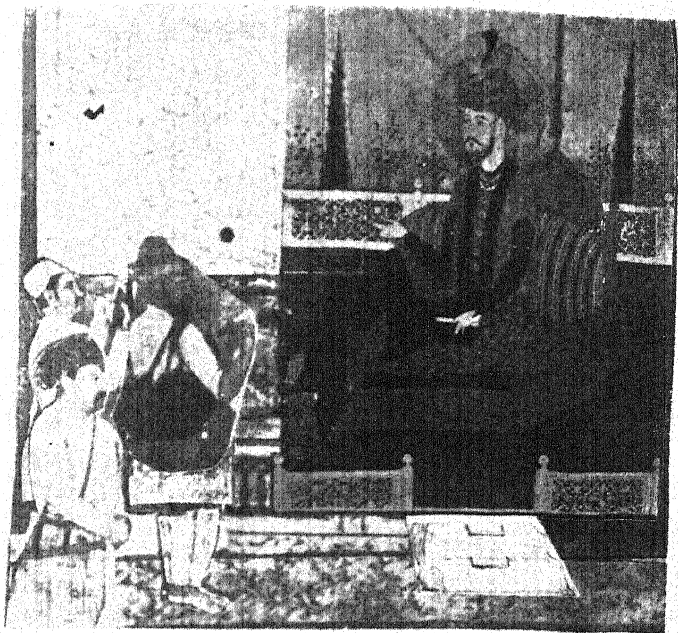
غرض آن غلام سقا را بر تخت نشاندند و حکم فرمودند که همه
امرایان کورنش بغلام سقه بکنند و غلام بهر کس هرچه خواهد
بخشد و منصب بدهد تا دو روز به آن غلام پادشاهی دادند میرزا
هندال در آن مجلس نه بودند..... میرزا کامران نیز نیامدند..... و
بحضرت گفته فرستادند که غلام را بخشیش و رعایتهای دیگر بایست
کرد چه لازم بود که بر تخت نشیند درین وقتی که شیر خان نزدیک
رسیده این چه کار است که حضرت میکنند

To be brief, his Majesty made the slave water-carrier sit on the throne, and gave order that all the 'Umarā should make obeisance to that slave water-carrier, and the slave might bestow on any one whatever he liked and confer 'mansab.' Till two days his Majesty gave royalty to that

unheard-of instance in modern history that a monarch ever rewarded the services of any of his truest, bravest, or loyalist officers, much less a menial of the rank of a water-carrier, with seating him on the royal throne.

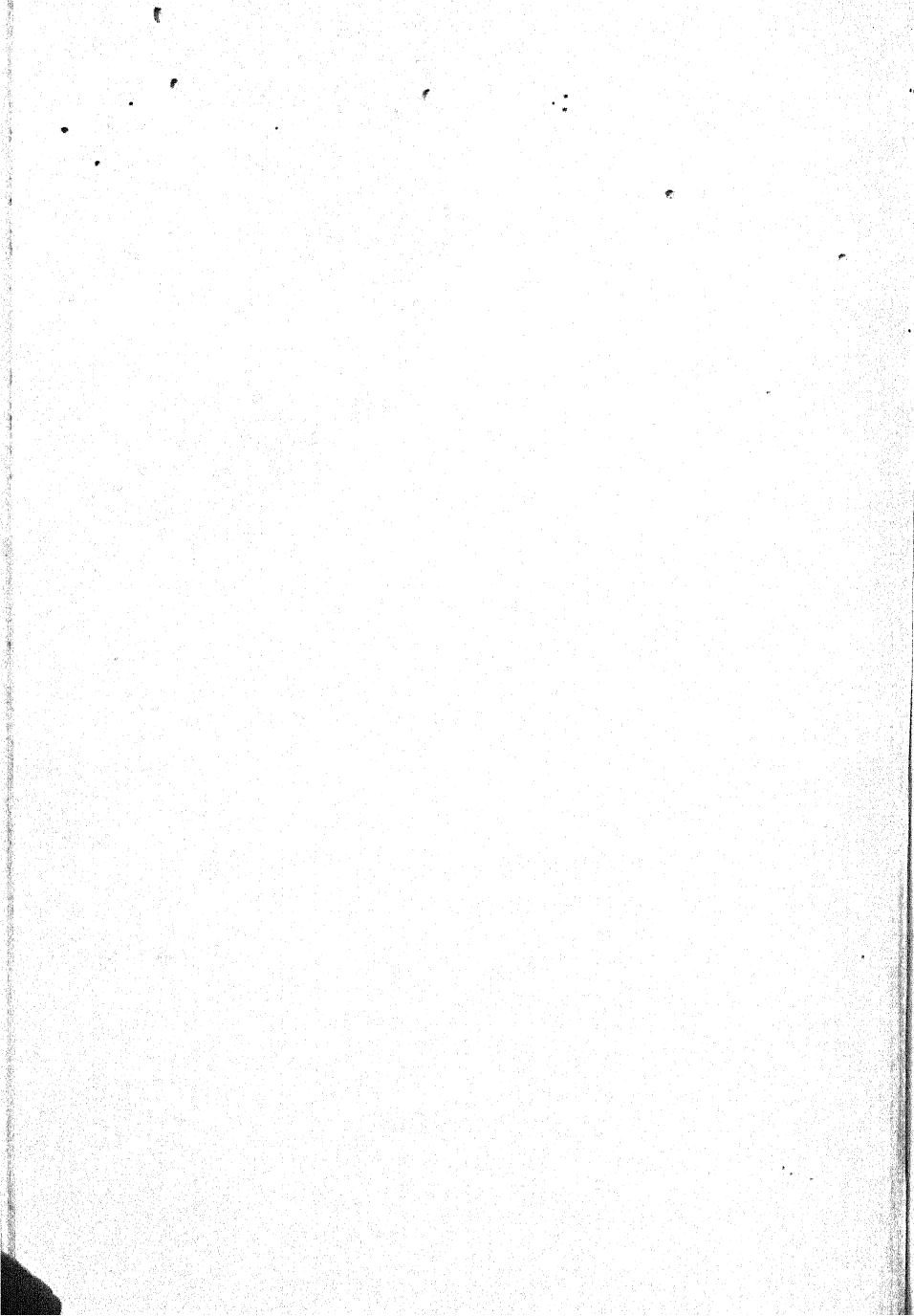
menial. Mirzā Hindāl was not present in that assembly, and Mirzā Kāmran too did not attend, and sent word to his Majesty saying, "To the slave gifts and other kinds of concessions should be granted. What need is there that he should sit on the throne at a time when Shēr Khān has approached near? What is this work that your Majesty is doing?"

[Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn Nāmā, p. 44.]



THE FAMOUS WATER-CARRIER, *king*, WHO HAD HELPED
HUMĀYŪN WITH A SHEEP-SKIN, WHILE CROSSING THE
RIVER AT CHAUSA, APPEARING FOR HIS REWARD
BEFORE THE EMPEROR, WHO IS SEEN ISSUING
ORDERS TO HIS SECRETARY.

[Secured through Mr. S. M. Azim Ansari, B.A., Law
student, Aligarh.]



CHAPTER VII

A great tribute of praise is paid by some Persian and English historians to Shāh Tahmāsp for his very noble and generous reception of Humāyūn. Sir John Malcolm, the great historian and authority on Persian affairs, writes thus:

Reception of
Humāyūn by
Shāh Tahmāsp.

“The reign of Shāh Tahmāsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Hoomāyoon, when that monarch was forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue; . . . and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest; and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tahmāsp merited the

Sir John
Malcolm's
great tribute.

praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations.”¹

This is an exaggerated, and to an extent erroneous account of the reception and the help given to

Mis-judg-
ment of Sir
John.

Humāyūn. It is neither supported by reference to any historical source, nor its validity sufficiently tested. Persian writers also, especially of later date, express such views which similarly are based on no historical data. Some observations from “the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn’s personal attendant Jauhar,” are reproduced below:

¹ Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Vol. I, 508.

NOTE.—The help eventually given by the Shāh consisted of several thousand foot and cavalry which dispersed soon after the conquest of Qandhār, with all its treasures surrendered to them. Humāyūn then recruited fresh soldiers with whose help he was able to conquer Cābul, and there studiously busied himself from four to five years in making special preparations for his attack on India. He sent rich presents to all the great chiefs of Qandhār, Samarqand, Bukhārā, and other towns, inviting them to join him in his expedition, giving them great hopes for the future. It was to this newly raised army led under his command after five years of his return from Persia that he virtually owes his throne of India. Cf. his ‘*masnawī*’ quoted on p. 18 *supra*. Also, Cf. Jauhar, fol. 127a:

حضرت پادشاه دریں جاہا سیر میکردند و اہل عظمت و شمشیر
زنان ملک سمرقند و بخارا و بمثلہ اعلام کردند و بعضی را
سوغات فرستادند و نوشتند کہ اینجانب دغرفہ متوجہ شدن بملک
ہندوستان دارد انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ اگر تشریف آرند هیچ مانع نیست
بیایند تا یکبار شکار ہندوستان بکنیم تا مشیت چہ آرد

علي الصباح حضرت شاه عالمينا کوچ کرده در مقام
 سلطانیه فرود آمدند... حضرت پادشاه
 بسلام رفته بودند که چندان التفات
 بجانب خود ندیدند کلفت خاطر
 کشیدند... و خود را الزام کردن گرفتند
 که کاشکے نمی آمدیم و از برای مهمانی حضرت پادشاه
 هیزم جمع کرده بودند که حضرت شاه گفته فرستادند
 که اگر در دین ما در آیند در تربیت می باشیم و الا
 به تمامی اهل مذهب شمارا درین هیزم آتش داده خواهم
 سوخت حضرت پادشاه گفته فرستادند که ما بدین
 خون قایم مقام هستیم آمدیم و مارا چندان آرزو پادشاهی
 هم نیست و هر چه هست به اراده خدا عروج است دل
 خون را بار بسته ایم -

Jauhar's
 eventful
 narrative, a
 most trust-
 worthy record
 in existence.

Early in the morning the Shāh (Tahmāsp) having marched, arrived and halted at Sul-tāniyā. His Majesty (Humāyūn) had gone to greet him, but seeing no attention paid to himself was grieved at heart, and began to accuse himself, saying, "Would that I had not come!" And for the entertainment of his Majesty they had collected some firewood. The Shāh sent a verbal message, saying, "If you enter into our religion we will extend our support, otherwise with all your co-religionists we shall burn you alive in this pile of

¹ Ibid., fol. 71b.

wood." His Majesty returned the message, "we are firm in our religion; we came; and we do not entertain much desire even for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God—the Great, and the High. We have bound our heart to Him."

Humāyūn approached by Shāh Tahmāsp to accept the Shi'a faith.

Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was approached through a special messenger of the Shāh to accept the Shi'a faith under a similar threat :

قاضي جهان وکیل حضرت شاه در ملازمت حضرت
پادشاه آمد عرض کرد که شما تنها نیستید از سبب شما
قریب هفت صد کس کشته خواهند شد

Qāzī Jahān, the Vakīl of the Shāh, came to his Majesty and said, "You are not alone. On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."

Apart from this, Shāh Tahmāsp was all the time actually thinking to take Humāyūn's life which

Humāyūn's life saved through the noble intervention of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter.

was saved only through a happy accident. The Shāh revealed his secret to his son Bahrām Mīrzā, who out of compassion divulged it to his sister through whose tender pleadings the situation was changed, and to whose

truly noble spirit Humāyūn owes his life and all his subsequent career :

¹ Ibid., fol. 72a.

۱ الغرض يك روز حضرت شاه عالم پناه پيا بهرام ميرزا
 در سجن هلاکيت دشمنان بودند حضرت پادشاه فرمودند
 ازين سجن ميرزا غلبه کلفت کشيد و رقت کړن بهمشيره
 خون اين ماجرا ظاهر ساخت که همایون پادشاه از نسل
 تيمور پادشاه پياے خون به اميدواري تمام آمده و چند
 مدت گذشته که با او هم نمک شده ایم دریں ولا شاه
 عالم پناه حکم باطل ميکردند چون اين عقيفه سجن
 شنيد بگریه درآمد که حضرت شاه در خانه آن عقيفه
 رسيد بهرام ميرزا سلام کرد و بدررفت و حضرت شاه نزول
 فرمودند و پرسيدند سبب گريستن چیست عرض کرد که
 بروز خون ميگريم باز فرمودند که سلامتي ما بخواهيد
 گفت همیشه در دعاے حضرت شاه عالم پناه ، شغول فاما
 شما هر چهار طرف دشمن داريد..... و شنیده ميشود که
 محمدمهمایون پادشاه پسر و برادران دارند بايد ارسايدن
 اوچه بدست مي آيد اگر بر احوال او رحم نکنند و
 سرفراز نفرمايند و امداد او بجايے نياورند رخصت کنند
 تا در هرجا که داند برون شاه عالم پناه اين کلام شنيد
 در ساعت تسلي شد و گفت تمام امرايان مصلحت بيخودي
 خون عرض ميکردند فاما بهتر ازين نيست که تو
 ميگوئي -

To be brief, one day the Shāh talked with
 Bahrām Mirzā of the killing of Humāyūn.

¹ Ibid., foll. 76a—76b.

From this speech the Mirzā being overcome with grief wept, and divulged this affair to his sister saying, "Humāyūn Pādishāh from the progeny of Timūr Pādishāh has come on foot with all hopes, and some period has elapsed since we have eaten the salt together. At this time the Shāh ordered a wrong thing." When this chaste lady heard this speech she burst into tears. In the meantime the Shāh entered her house. Bahrām Mirzā saluted him and went out. And the Shāh halted and asked what was the reason for her crying. She said, "I weep on my day." The Shāh again said, "Wish our welfare." She said, "I am always busy in my prayer for your Majesty, but you have on all the four sides enemies. And it is heard that Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh has a son and brothers. What good should come to hand by torturing him? If you do not take pity on his affairs and exalt and help him, you should bid him farewell, so that whatever place he knows of he may go to." The Shāh listened to this speech and got pacified in that moment, and said, "All the 'Umarā expressed their unwise policies, but there is nothing better than what thou sayest."

CHAPTER VIII

During Humāyūn's reign, poets and scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkistān, Bukhārā, and Samarqand, continued to emigrate to India in larger numbers than before.

Exodus of
poets and
scholars from
Persia to
India.

Besides those already mentioned, there were many, like Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī Sadr Turkistāni, Mir 'Abdul Hai Bukhārī, Khwāja Hijrī Jāmī, Maulānā Bazmī, Mullā Muhammad Sālih, and Mullā Jān Muhammad, who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān.' The two popular poets Jāhi Yatmiyān of Bukhārā and Hairatī of Māwarā un Nahr had entered Humāyūn's service at Cābul, and received his favours. Similarly Khwāja Ayyūb from Māwarā un Nahr, Maulānā Nādirī from Samarqand, and Maulānā Junūbī from Badakhshān, all journeyed from their homes to Āgra, and received *mansabs*.

A large majority of scholars, like Mir 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī, Maulānā Abul Qasim

1 Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O., MSS., 223, foll. 72b—76a.

Astrābādī, Shaikh Abul Wajid Fāriḡhī Shīrāzī, and Shauqī Tabrizī, came actually from the Persian towns and the Safawī court itself which, *de facto*, did not rise to the height of the munificence of the Indian courts in their patronage of Persian prose and poetry.' The last-named, Shauqī Tabrizī, who was

Part played by the Mughal as compared with the Safawī in the uplift of Persian prose and poetry.

1 Poets under the Safawī, were on an average, paid from 20 to 30 'tūmans' for their 'qasaid' and eulogies of the court. There is one instance discovered of a panegyrist of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great—Shanī Taklū—who was once weighed in gold for his beautiful poetry, and on his retirement from the Shah's service got a stipend of 20 'tūmans' a month (a sum equal to sixty rupees). Against this solitary instance of Persian munificence, a good many brighter ones of Indian courts may be quoted: Cf.—

- (i) Zuhūrī receiving several elephants loaded with gold and silver and other rich presents for his Sāqī Nāma in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. [Sar-Kush, Kalimāt ush Shu'arā—account of Zuhūrī.]
- (ii) 'Urī receiving from the Khān i Khānān 100,000 rupees in reward for a 'qasida.' [Ibid., Account of Khān i Khānān.]
- (iii) Hayātī Kāshī was weighed in gold by Jahāngīr for his verses on the style of Khusrau's Tughlaq Nāma. So also, Sa'īda i Gilāni. [Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī. p. 240.]
- (iv) Abū Talib Kalīm, Sa'īda i Gilāni, and Bāfiyā, all weighed in gold by Shāh Jahān.
- (v) Maulvī 'Ābdul Hakim Siālkōtī weighed twice in gold.
- (vi) 'Ābdul Hamīd Lāhorī, author of Shāh Jahān Nāma, was similarly weighed in gold, in addition to receiving a large sum in cash, on completion of his history.

an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Sām Mirzā, at the Safawī court, had left the Prince's service only to enter Humāyūn's.¹ Similarly Shaikh Abul Wajid Fāriḡhī who came from Shirāz, was a pauper, and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body.² A good many poets and scholars came after Shāh Tahmāsp, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. The one notable example is that of Masih Ruknā i Kāshī, who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day, and was the chief poet of the court of Shāh 'Abbās. The Shāh not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved, but on one occasion even thought the favour he was showing him was too much for a poet, in consequence of which he left the court and came away to India in the reign of Akbar. This is the age when the liberalities of the Deccan and the

(vii) Qudsi, a most notable instance in the history of Mughal patronage, received in reward for a *qasida* from a rich noble of Shāh Jahān's court, all his estate in landed and movable property, with heaps of gold and silver; and his mouth was filled seven times with precious jewels by Shah Jahān himself.

(viii) Nazirī receiving from *Khān i Khānān* 100,000 rupees cash; and 30,000 gold mohars from Jahāngīr.

¹ Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 382. Cf. the statement: "He left the service of Sām Mirzā . . . and went with the Emperor Humāyūn."

² Badā'ūnī, Vol. I, p. 476. Cf. the statement:

از قلاشی مقربا غیر از کهنه پوستینے با خود نداشت

³ Lutf 'Alī Bāg Āzar, Ātashkada, p. 339.

Mughal kings in jealous rivalry with each other were attracting, more than they did ever before, the Persian poets and scholars from the remote corners of Persia, and the Western and Central Asia. Not only the Mughal kings but their *'Umarā* too, extended an equal patronage to these literate emigrants, who in their turn sang praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Persia and served as an impetus to others who yet lagged behind. This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. The elegant poetry written in this and the later periods, and the useful literature produced in the shape of histories, translations from Sanskrit and Hindi works, biographies of poets, and dictionaries of Persian language and idiom, stand a contrast and a marvel to Persia.

Various explanations are offered by Persian writers for the non-appearance of any great poets

in Persia under the Safawī rule. As a matter of fact both the 16th and the 17th centuries were notably poor in the number and the quality of poets produced in Persia. The chief reason for this lull, as pointed out by Iskandar

Causes of the dearth of notable poets in Persia under the Safawī as put forward by Persian historians.

Munshi—the celebrated historian of

Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, was the change in the mentality of the Shāh and of the people from the panegyric to the religious poetry or Muharram mournings which constitute strophes in praise of the

Martyrs: Imām Hasan, and Imām Husain.¹ The same view is endorsed by subsequent Persian and English chroniclers.² It is also declared that the panegyrists were not tolerated by the Persian kings, and consequently no poets of note appeared at their court; and even if they did, they were discouraged and no reward was held out to them for their eulogies. The Safawis, we are told, maintained that the person of the Imāms and not that of the kings was worthy of the encomiums of the poets.

While all this may be admitted as a distraction, it cannot at the same time be any real reason for the following considerations: First, that the panegyrists did exist under each of the Safawī kings, and received rewards for their encomiums on the person of the Shāh; and second, that the '*marsiyas*' (or the Muharram mournings) did not and could not in the least stop other kinds of poetry. The production of the former as compared with the latter is only a drop in the ocean. The poet Qāsimī, for instance, was a panegyrist of Shāh Ismā'īl, and was rewarded no less for his '*Qasā'id*' than for his other poems, of which, however, none was in praise of

Weakness of
their conten-
tion.

¹ The latter is best known by his revered title of "*Sayyid ush Shuhadā*" whose martyrdom at Kerbala is a memorable event in the history of Islām and is the subject of universal mourning.

² Cf. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, pp. 172-3.

the Imāms.¹ The highest reward which he got was for his poem entitled '*Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*' written in imitation of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* in extravagant praise of the Shāh. After Shāh Ismā'īl's death, he stayed for some time at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and possibly by the latter's desire wrote a similar poem entitled '*Shāh Nāma i Shāh Tahmāsp*' in his praise. In the latter part of his life he repaired to India, being attracted by the liberalities of the Mughal court, and was graciously received by Akbar.

Among the court poets of Shāh Tahmāsp, besides Qāsimī (who came over to India), there were many, of whom Shauqī Tabrizī (who followed suit), Zamīrī, 'Abdī, and Muhtasham Kāshī, were conspicuous. Muhtasham poured unqualified praise on the Shāh, which not only was admitted but justly rewarded by the latter. The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Alī Bēg Azar, describes him as a panegyrist of the Shāh, and a prominent figure among the poets of the Safawī court:

سر آمد شعراے فصاحت شعار آن روزگار و مداح
شاه طهماسب صفوی است -

¹ Cf. his poems :

- (i) *Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*.
- (ii) *Kār Nāma*, a poem on the game of Chaugān, written at the request of the Shāh himself.
- (iii) *Lailā wa Majnūn*, dedicated to the Shāh.
- (iv) *Khusrau wa Shirīn*, dedicated to Sām Mirzā.

[*Tuhfa i Sāmī*, U. L. C., Or. 648, fol. 28a.]

² *Atashkada*, p. 331.

He is the head of the eloquent poets of that period, and a panegyrist of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Some specimens, showing the nature of praises showered by him from time to time on the person of the Shāh, are reproduced below:

شہ گیتی ستاں طہماسپ آن کز بیم رزم او
تن پیل دمان کا ہد دل شیر ژیان لہزن
اگر فغفور چین آید بقصد آستاں بوسش
ز چین ابروے دربان آن بر آستاں لہزن

The king—conqueror of the world—Tahmāsp,
is such that from the fear of his battle,
The body of the fierce elephant diminishes,
and the heart of the ferocious lion
shivers ;

If the emperor of China comes with the
intent to bow at his threshold,
From the scowl of the porter of that
threshold, he trembles.

قا بدن دستگاہ جاں باشد
دست دست خدایگان باشد

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

NOTE.—This is in poor imitation of Anwarī's famous '*qasīda*' in praise of Sultān Sanjar, beginning :

گر دل و دست بحر و کان باشد * دل و دست خدایگان باشد
شاہ شہنجر کہ کمترین خدمش * در جهان پادشہ نشان باشد

شاه طهماسب آنکه در سپهش
 همچو سنجر هزار خاں باشد
 آنکه از صدمت عدالت او
 دزد چاروش کاروان باشد
 و آنکه از هیبت سیاست او
 گرگ باغی سگ شبان باشد
 چون عنان فرس بجنبانی
 ریشه در جسم انس و جان باشد
 هم درنگ تو یک زمان درجنگ
 مهلت صد هزار جان باشد
 من چنان شمع معنی افروزم
 انوری مستنیر آن باشد

Till body be the monopoly of the hand of
 the soul,

That hand be the hand of the king ;
 Shāh Tahmāsp is such that in his army,
 Like Sanjar there are thousand *Khāns* ;
 He is such that from the dread of his
 justice,

The thief is the herald of a *Kāravān* ;
 And he is such that through the fear of his
 chastisement,

The lawless wolf is the dog of a shepherd ;
 When thou givest motion to the rein of thy
 steed,

Paralysis overtakes the body of man and
 genii ;

Thy delay for a moment in battle,
Is a respite to a hundred thousand lives;
I am such a candle, enlightener of meaning,
That Anwarī seeks light therefrom.

Side by side with this he also wrote his famous '*Haft-band*' in praise of the Imāms. Zamīrī is another who began his career as a poet in Shāh Tahmāsp's reign, and produced volumes of secular poetry in which respect no other poet in the whole of Persia could compete with him.¹ 'Abdī is yet another who carried the palm in his lavishness of praise on Shāh Tahmāsp. Besides the usual '*qasā'id*,' he wrote a long panegyric on the Shāh, entitled '*Būstān i Khī-yal*'² (the garden of imagination), also called '*Haftkhi-zāna*.' A specimen from same will easily reveal the tendency of the Shāh's taste as also that of the poets at his court :

در مدح سلطان السلاطین خاتان الخواقین شاه
طهماسب الصفوی الموسوی الکسینی خلد الله ملکه
ابد -

شهنشاه جمجاء دارا سریر
که هم تاج بخش است و هم ملک گیر

¹ Atashkada, p. 243. Cf. the statement :

ضمیری - اسمش کمال الدین حسین در زمان شاه طهماسب صفوی
زبان بشاعری کشاده و در زمان حیات داد شاعری داده و گویند در
اصفهان بلکه در ولایت دیگر بکثرت شعر او شاعری نیامده -

² Or. 3504. B.M. MSS.

³ Ibid., fol. 8a.

The keeper of religion, the emperor
Shāh Tahmasp.

In the following the poet refers to a '*mansab*' which he got from the Shāh in appreciation of secular poems consisting of '*qasā'id*,' and '*masnawī*,' and '*ghazal*,' all of which proceeded from his pen as a sequel to the Shāh's patronage. In the third verse, in which he observes that his poetry was up till then in abeyance, he emphatically denies that it was due to any sense of shame for writing poetry :

بدیوان اعلیٰ چو بشتافتم^۱
مناسب ترین منصبے یافتم
ازاں منصب آورده نای بدست
بنام عزیزاں ندادم شکست
ولے درنہاں بود شعرم شعار
نبودی ازاں نسبتم ننگ و عار
قصاید ز کلکم برآورد سر
چو از نخلۂ خشک خرماے تر
نوشتم بکلك بدایع نگار
غزلہاے زیندۂ آبدار
تتبع نمودم از اطوار نظم
چہ طور است خوشتر بیازار نظم

When I hurried to the sublime court,
I got a most suitable '*mansab*' ;

¹ Ibid., fol. 10b.

همه کرده از نامور نامه ها
 بمدح شهبان گرم هنگامه ها
 مراهم خوش آید که دیوان من
 که آمد گرامی تر از جان من
 ز نام شهره چون تو گیرد جمال
 کلامم ز مدحت پذیرد کمال
 اگر سعدی از نام بو بکر سعد
 خط شاهد نظم را کرد جعد
 کنون عیدی از نام طهماسب شاه
 سخن را زند بر فلک بارگاه

Every one who had lustre from the praise
 of a king,
 Became the possessor of world like the
 blessed sun ;
 Any one whose poetry was not based on
 praise,
 His worth was not much recognised in the
 world ;
 Again, from the poets of yore,
 The best chapter which proceeded was that
 of praise ;
 All commenced their records from the name
 of the renowned,
 From the praise of kings they warmed their
 assemblies ;
 To me also it becomes agreeable, that my
 poetic collection,

اونیس ار چه شاهے جهاندار بود
 شتربانیت را سزاوار بود
 اگر جامی از مدح سلطان حسین
 سنگن را بدر و گهر دان زین
 ترا کمترین بنده زینسان که هست
 بود جاع سلطان حسینش نشست
 چو مدوح من از همه برتر است
 مرا در سنگن رتبه دیگر است
 من آفریز گشتم چو خسرو سمر
 که از جوهر فرد دادم خبر

Similarly Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, had his panegyrists, one of whom, Shāhī Taklū, his favourite poet, was weighed in gold for the following beautiful verse, and received his weight for his reward.

اگر دشمن کشد ساغر و گرنه دوست
 بطاق ابرو مستانه اوست

Whether an enemy drinks a cup of wine, or
 does a friend,
 Both do so at the arc of his tipsy eye-brow.

At this, other poets showed jealousy, and wrote versified complaints to the Shāh, indirectly challenging the merits of their lucky comrade. The one written by Mullā Lutfi, another panegyrist of the Shāh's court, is well-worth quoting :

¹ Ālam 'Arā i Abbāsī, MSS. dated 1156 A.H., fol. 132a.

شاهها ز کرم جهان منور کردی
 ملک دل عالمه مسخر کردی
 شاعر که بخاک ره برابر شده بود
 برداشتی و برابر زر کردی

O king, thou hast illumined the world with
 thy generosity,
 Thou hast captured the kingdom of the heart
 of a whole world ;
 The poet who had become equal to the dust
 of the path (*i.e.*, whose merits were
 as low as dust),
 Thou hast picked him up, and made him
 equal with gold.

Still more prominent was Hakim Ruknuddīn, popularly known as Hakim Ruknā i Kāshī, who composed under the pen-name '*Masīh*' which suggests with his profession as a physician.¹ He was a competent poet and wrote over one lac (100,000) of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention

¹ Ibid., fol. 134b.

² Cf., *Shifā'i*, another court-physician and poet of Shāh' Abbās, the Great. His real name was Sharāfuddīn, and *Shifā'i* was his pen-name which, like '*Masīh*' is appropriately suggestive with his profession. This taste for fine phraseology and choosing homogeneous words was (as is already shown on p. 64, *supra*), also prevalent at the Persian court, and was *de facto* brought to India from Persia itself, where, through slackness of poetical market, it did not develop so fully as it did in India under the liberal patronage of the Mughals.

and disregard on the part of Shāh 'Abbās (*vide supra*, p. 151), and consequently left his court for that of the Mughal, with the following verse addressed to the Shāh:

اگر فلک يك صبحدم بامن گراں باشد سرش
شام بیرون میروم چون آفتاب از کشورش

If the sky on a single morn makes its head
heavy against me,
That very evening I walk out like the sun
from its dominion.

He arrived at the Mughal court with his famous contemporary—Hakīm Sadrā of Shirāz—(who subsequently had his title of '*Masihuz Zamān*' conferred upon him by Jahāngīr), in the last days of Akbar, and was received by 'Abdurrahīm, *Khān i Khānān*, who took them to the court. Jahāngīr mentions them among his state physicians.²

About the same time another poet Shakibī Isfahānī left his native town for Āgra to enter the service of the *Khān i Khānān*.³ Two of his verses from

¹ Ātashkada, p. 339. [This shows the extent of the influence that the Mughal patronage in India exercised on the Persian court, and specially on the minds of its poets. It not only infused in them a spirit of independence but made them actually slight the patronage shown by the Safawī.]

² Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī, p. 19.

³ It is to be noted that the rewards by *Khān i Khānān* exceeded a lac of rupees. In addition to this, the latter secured for him a permanent *jāgīr* from Jahāngīr's government.

Sāqī Nāma which he wrote in grateful acknowledgment of his master's liberal patronage are worthy of notice :

بیا ساقی آن آب حیوان بده
 ز سر چشمه خان خانان بده
 سکندر طلب کرد لیکن نیافت
 که در هند بود اوج ظلمت شتافت

Come, o cup-bearer, give me that water of
 nectar,
 Give me from the stream of the *Khān i*
Khānān ;
 Alexander sought for it but did not get,
 For it was in India and he went in the region
 of darkness.

In the face of such strong evidences there remains little doubt that the real cause of this lull in the activities of poets in Persia is not in what is so easily explained by a certain class of writers. It surely lies in some other quarter. A Persian poet of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp wittily points out the reason of this lack, as resulting from the Shāh's attention being paid to calligraphy, painting, and riding, in the following verse :

¹ Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, MSS., dated, Agra, 8th Safar, 1146 A. H., fol. 76a. [My attention was first drawn to this work by Prof. A. Qavī, Fāni, M.A., of Lucknow University, who also very kindly permitted the use of his copy which I believe is rare.]

بے تکلف خوش ترقی کردہ اندک
کاتب و نقاش و قزوینی و خر

Without trouble they have made a good

progress,

The scribe, the painter, the Qazwīnī, and the
ass.

Another sober and somewhat stronger evidence of the lack of patronage to poets in Persia is to be found in the verse of Lisānī Shirāzī, who was a contemporary of Shāh 'Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp. On one occasion when he happened to go to Tabriz, he composed a '*qasida*' in praise of Amīr Najm, II, wherein he complained as follows :

مے من صافی و ادب مروت بے ذوق
زر من بیغش و صراف سخن نابینا

My wine is pure, but the possessors of
sympathy are devoid of taste,
My gold is unalloyed, but the banker of
speech (judge) is blind.

¹ Prof. Browne (quoting from *Ahsanut Tawārīkh*), *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, A.D. 1500—1924, p. 97.

Cf. his remark :

According to the *Ahsanut Tawārīkh*, Shāh Tahmāsp was in his youth much interested in calligraphy and painting ; he also liked riding on Egyptian asses, which consequently became fashionable, and were adorned with golden trappings and gold-embroidered saddle-cloths.

² Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg, fol. 57b, ut supra.

The above view finds further support in the utterance of another poet Kausari of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. While extolling in the usual manner the virtues of the Shāh¹ in the masnawi entitled 'فرهاد و شیرین' (*Farhād wa Shīrīn*), the poet describes the dull atmosphere obtained in Persia, as compared with India, in the following plain and unmistakable language :

شکایت کم توجہی اہل ایران باریاب معانی²
 دریں کشور خریدار سخن نیست
 کسے سر گرم بازار سخن نیست
 سخن را قدر و مقداری نمانده
 معانی را خریداری نمانده
 نباشد از اکابر تا اراذل
 کسے را دل بسوی شعر مایل
 ز بس باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار
 بود امروز شعر و شاعری عار

¹ Cf.:

شہد از صفات شاه گیتی ستان شاه عباس خلد الله ملکہ و سلطانہ
 چو سر انراست از لطف الہی * لوائی دولت عباس شاهی
 جہاں را خواب امن آمد بدیدہ * ہمہد عافیت شد آرمیدہ
 چنان دست ستم شد کوئے از خلق * کہ باعد ظلم زالی آستین دلق
 بدور انہی کہ باد از چشم بد دور * ز مادر ظلم می زاید ولی کور
 [B.M. MSS., Or. 342, fol. 12a.]

² Ibid., foll. 11a and 12a.

[I am grateful to my friend, Dr. A. M. Nizāmiddīn (Nizām scholar), for having copied these lines for me on my request from the B. M. codex.]

ببین کز بخریداری دریں دور
 چگوفه شد بر ارباب سخن جور
 که در ایران کسی ناید پدیدار
 که باشد جنس معنی را خریدار
 در ایران تلخ گشته کام جانم
 بیاید شد سوے هندوستانم
 همه طوطی مذاقان شکر خا
 بملک هند ازاں کردند ماوا
 بر آنم کوثری ابیات خود را
 شده نازل ز عرش آیات خود را
 چو قطره جانب عمان فرستم
 متاع خود بهندستان فرستم
 که نبود در سخن دانان دوراں
 خریدار سخن جز خان خانان
 سخن را نیست جز او نکته سنگی
 جهانرا همچو او آماده گنجی
 بعالم هیچ کس ز اهل هنر نیست
 که از دست سخایش بهره‌ور نیست

Complaint¹ for the inattention of the people of
 Īrān towards the possessors of meaning (*i.e.*, poets) :

¹ His complaint is of special value as proceeding from one who
 was a favourite of Shāh 'Abbās, and a writer of elegies on
 the Imāms. Cf.:

patronage to poets.¹ The result of this appreciation was that the fire of poetic genius of the nation, which had for so long burnt low in poets under sullen despondency, sparkled out once more and lit up the horizon of that country. Simultaneously with it, emigration to India considerably diminished.² The most notable poet that Persia in this new era produced was Qā'ānī, who is justly regarded both in India and Persia as the last great poet of Persian language.³

¹ Cf.—

- (i) Prince Hasan 'Alī Mirzā "*Shujā' us Saltanat*," Governor of Khurāsān—patronised Qā'ānī, Farūghī, and others.
- (ii) Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī, "*Nāib us Saltanat*" Prime Minister of Muhammad Shah—also a patron of poets.
- (iii) Mirzā Taqī Khan, better known as "*Amir-i Kabir*" eulogised by Qā'ānī in numerous "*qasā'id*" for his munificent liberalities to poets.

² Cf. other causes :

- (i) Gradual replacement of Persian by Urdū, and its official recognition as the court language under the English.
- (ii) Patronage shown by the Mughal princes and other nobles to Urdū poets.

³ The one prominent figure in modern Persian poetry, which begins roughly from the latter half of the 16th century A.D., is the epoch-making Qā'ānī the Shelley of Persia, as we may call him. No other poet is to be found in the whole range of Persian verse so rich in the vividness of imagery, the exquisite mastery over style, and above all, in the glow and verve of idiom and naturalness of simile and metaphor, as he. Qā'ānī's descriptions are some of the most consummate that exist in the Persian

The chief causes, which appear more likely to be at the root, were : (i) the attention of the Safawi to political, social, and above all, religious reform (which, being of a drastic and fanatical nature, led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia), on the one hand ; and (ii) the patronage shown by the Mughal in India, on the other. The Mughal

Main causes
which were at
the root.

language. Every line of his displays that fulness of detail and eye for close observation which characterise his writings. His descriptive poems stand out not only in his own composition but in the Persian verse as a whole. His poetry is confined chiefly to *Qasīda*, *Khamsa*, *Qit'a* and *Mutā'iba*, on topics of love, natural scenery, and praises and satires of kings and dignitaries. A few lines from his *Khamsa* may be quoted here by way of specimen, which specially appeal to every student of *Nature*, a parallel of which is hard to find in the East among poets of Persian language, but is frequently met with in the West in English poets like Tennyson, Shelley, and Wordsworth :

دیدۀ نرگس بباغ باز چو سیاهاب شد
طوقه سنبل بباغ باز چو سیاهاب شد
آب فسوده چو سیم باز چو سیاهاب شد
باد بهاری بجست زهوقه دی آب شد
نیم شب آن بے خبر کرد ز بستان نواز
باز بر آمد بکوه رایح ابر بهار
سپل نور ریخت سنگ از زیر کوهسار
باز بجوش آمدند سرغ بستان از نثار
فاخته و برالمیخ صاصل و کبک و هزار
طوطی و طاووس و بط سیره و سرخاب و سار

Court offered a home not only to poets but to scholars of all shades of opinion, including professional men like physicians, calligraphists, and painters. A large number of them, who in Persia refused to accept the Shia faith forced upon them, had to go

The eye of narcissus in the garden shone again as
 bright as quicksilver,
 The forelock of hyacinth in the jungle became again
 full of curl ;
 The frozen water like silver once more melted into
 quicksilver,
 The spring breeze leapt, and the gall-bladder of
 autumn turned into water,
 In the dead of night it took its flight stealthily from
 the garden.
 Again, the banner of Spring cloud appeared on the
 summit of the mountain,
 The flood hurled down the stones from the top of the
 hills ;
 Again, the young birds rushed in glee from every nook,
 The dove, the grouse, the quail, the partridge, and the
 nightingale,
 The parrot, the peacock, the duck, the diver, the goose,
 and the crane.

The life-like picture depicted in conformity with Nature, the fiery poetical glow of language, and the introduction of original and quaint ideas even in such a common and world-wide subject as the appearance of the garden, during the dominion and sway of the vernal epoch, are qualities which had almost disappeared from the Persian composition in the 18th century. Along with the exquisite beauty of diction in the above descriptive sketch, Qā'ani's presentation is absolutely free from unnatural exaggerations so common with poets in his day. His graphic sketch of *Nature* and her workings is such as might be

into exile. Some went to Turkey, and the Central Asian Provinces, but many came to India, to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating,

given by any English poet without hesitation. For example compare one stanza from the *Adonais* of Shelley :

The airs and streams renew their joyous tone ;
The ants, the bees, the swallows reappear ;
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead season's bier ;
The amorous birds now pair in every brake,
And build their mossy homes in field and brake ;
And the green lizard and the golden snake,
Like unimprisoned flames, out of their trance awake.

Qa'ānī's poetry with its wonderful ease and flow does not appear to belong to the era in which he lived, but exhibits a taste which prevailed in the early and the middle ages. His fidelity to nature combined with the charm of Rūdakī and Zahrī, the pathos of Nizāmī, and the vivacity and animation of Farrukhī and Manuchahrī, preponderates in his composition, and in this respect he appears to be a poet more of the 12th and 13th centuries than of the 19th when he actually lived. Even in his figurative indulgence, which is a characteristic of the 17th and 18th century poets, his supremacy over his colleagues is marked in so far as he has kept aloof from the vices rampant in their composition. His artistic display of the language, and his metaphor and simile have a charm and a reality which do not exist in the work of modern poets, and were long displaced by frivolous attempts at word and meaning, and the inordinate figurative touches which had disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry in the later age. In Qa'ānī, therefore, we have a revival of the middle and early poetry, and he may be justly said to represent Farrukhī, Manuchahrī, and Zahrī in the 19th century.

being attracted by its superior literary support. It is by this process and the force of

Qa'ānī's elegies are also famous for their originality of form, and style of address. They are a deviation from the old established path in a more conspicuous form than is exhibited in his panegyric poetry. Some specimen lines from his elegy on Imam Husain are quoted below :

بارد چه خون که دیده چسبان روز و شب چرا
از غم کدام غم سلطان کربلا
نامش چه بود حسین ز نثر اد که از علی
نامش که بود فاطمه جدش که مصطفی
چون شد شهید شد بکتبا داشت مار یث
که عاشر مصوم پنهان نه برملا
شب کشته شد نه روز چه هنگام وقت ظهر
شد از جلو بریده سرش نی نی از قفا
سیراب کشته شد نه کس آبش نداد داد
که شمر از چه چشمه ز سر چشمه فنا
مظلوم شد شهید بلی جرم داشت نه
کاوش چه بد هدایه و یارش که بد خدا

What rains? The blood; who rains? The eye; how? Day
and night; why?

Out of grief; what grief? The grief for the Sultān of
Kerbala,

What was his name? Husain; from whose parentage
was he? From that of 'Alī,

Who was his mother? Fatima; who was his grand-
father? The Prophet Muhammad.

What happened to him? He suffered martyrdom;
where? In the desert of Marya,

When? On the 10th of Muharrum; secretly? Nay, publicly.

such circumstances, further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter-relations uniting the

Was he killed at night ? Nay, in the day ; what hour ?

At the hour of noon,

Was his head cut off from the front ? Nay, from behind.

Was he killed with his thirst quenched ? No ; did none

give him water ? Yes, they did,

Who did ? Shīmr ; from what stream ? From the stream

of death.

Did he fall a martyr to oppression ? Aye ; had he (committed) any fault ? None,

What was his mission ? Guidance ; and who was his friend ?

GOD.

“Qā’ānī,” says Browne, “is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the 19th century. He is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his command of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles.”

The latter remark of the learned critic is mainly due to the allegation that Qā’ānī was of short temper, and his pen did not desist from disparaging those whom he had once praised in his *gasā’id*. In support of this contention Browne quotes one instance of Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī, who, during his supreme Governorship of Khurāsān, was extolled for his piety and justice by Qā’ānī. But when the Mirzā fell from power, having incurred the displeasure of the emperor Muhammad Shāh, and his Ministerial rank and authority passed on to another noble “*Lisān ul Mulk*” Mirzā Taqī Khān, better known as “*Amīr i Kabīr*,” Qā’ānī, for reasons not yet fully disclosed, discredited the former and praised the latter thus :

خوشست کامشپ اے صنم خوریم سے پیاد جم
 کہ گشتہ دولت عجم قوی چر کوهسارها
 ز سعی صدر نامور مہین امیر دادگر
 کر و کشودہ باب و در ز حصن و ز حصارها

two countries that the court of the Mughal eventually became completely Persianised, and in fact every-

بجائے ظالمے شقی نشستہ عادلے تقی
کہ موصنان مستقی کنند انتقارها

It is pleasing tonight, O dear, that we drink wine in memory
of Jamshīd,
Because the empire of Persia has become firm like a chain
of mountains;
Through the efforts of our reputed Minister, the greatest
Amir and the giver of justice,
(From whom) the doors and gates of castles and fortresses
are kept wide open;
In place of a cursed tyrant, sat a just and God-fearing person,
That the pious believers take pride in him.

Qā'ānī purged the Persian poetry from that irksome hyperbole and laboured and pedantic style which the later poets, during the last two centuries before him had commonly adopted as their motto. His verses are full of pathos and spontaneous and natural tendencies as opposed to a terse and affected style formed by clever devices, subtleties of figures of speech, and rhymed diction. His distinctive feature of writing, and the reforms he introduced in the art of versification, are summed up as follows :

- (i) Abstention from fatuous and abortive exaggeration in his flight of thought as could be seen in the following lines reproduced here by way of sample :

دردورقی کہ دم زنی از حزم و احتیاط
او کار بادبان کند این کار ننگرا
غیر از رضائے شاه کہ جوید بجای و دل
آید بچشم هر دو جهانش مستقرا
بادش عنو نواں و بد اندیش ذاتواں
دولت جوان و حکم رواں یاربهره رواں

thing, language, custom, fashion, food and dress, was adopted after the Persian style and taste.

نصرت قرین د چرخ معین فتح همنشین
حاسد غیبی و بخت سبیل خصم لاغرا

ولہ

ای دس تو بخشندہ تر از ابر بمجلس
وی تیغ تو رخشندہ تر از برق بہیجا
گر صاعقہ قہر تو بر کوفہ بتابد
پیکان دمد اندر عوض خار ز خار
یک شلہ مار است مرا روح بہ پیکر
یک بیشہ خار است مرا موی پر اعضا

ولہ

ازاں شراب کہ گر بیندش کسے شب تار
کند نظارۂ بظلمات آب حیوان را

- (ii) Remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his simile and metaphor, as contained in the following lines:

ز خاک رستہ لالہا چو بُسَدیں پیا لہا
ببرگ لالہ زُالہا چو در شفق ستارہا
ز ریزش ستارہا بر آبہا حبابہا
چو جوی نقوۂ آبہا روان در آبشارہا
در زلف تابدار او بہششم اشکبار من
چو چشمہ کہ اند روشنا کنند مارہا
درختہای بارور چو اشتراک بارور
ہمی ز پشت یکدگر کشیدہ صف قطارہا
فراز سرو بوستان نشستہ اند قمریای
چو مقریای نغمہ خوان بزمردیں منارہا
بنفشہ رستہ از زمین بطرف جویبارہا
و یا گستہ حورعین ز زلف خویش تارہا
ز سنگ اگر ندیدہ چسان جہد شرارہا
ببرگہاے لالہ بیں میای لالہ زارہا
کہ چوں شرارہ می جہد ز سنگ کوهسارہا

It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the

- (iii) His pun and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful, and dignified in character, than those of his contemporaries who are content merely with the ornate diction and display of words at the sacrifice of good taste. A few instances are quoted below :

نَف کریمش از بس قتاده در یتیم
 یتیم ساختہ پروردگار عمار را
 از آهوی سیمیں بستان آهوی زریں
 تا خانه چو مینو کنی از شاهد و مینا
 آهوی بگیر این همه کاهو بتو گیرند
 آهو چه کنی اے همه شیراں بتو شیدا
 به نوع انسان آناس بود مہانتاش
 کہ بر به سایر انواع نوع انسان را
 سپہر کوکبہ صدرا توئی کہ کوکب تو
 شکستہ کوکب هفت آسمان گردان را

- (iv) Continuity and fulness in his description, with faithful representation of the subject, which is wonderfully attractive and appealing to heart :

ای رقتہ پئے صید غزالین سرے صحرا
 باز آبوی شہر پئے صید دل ما
 گر تیر زنی بر دل ما زنتہ بر آهو
 در درم نہی در رة ما نہ نہ بصہرا
 نہ شہر کم از دشت و نہ ما کمتر از آهو
 صید دل ما کن اگر ت صید تمنا
 آهوے بیابان نہ برد عہد بیاباں
 ما نئیم کہ صیدیم و بقیدیم و شکبیا
 اے آهوے انسی چہ کنی آهوے وحشی
 دین طرہ کہ صیدی چہ کنی صید تقاضا
 صادر تو گیرند و گیرند ز تو آهو
 او صید تو غافل شدہ ما صید تو عمدہ

Mughal court, nor on the people of Hindūstān, before

آهوه بگيراین همه کا هو بتو گیرند
 آهر چه کنی ای همه شیران بتو شیدا
 چشمهت چوبه آهر ست بگهوا هو چشمی
 مه روی و سخنگوی و سخن بُوی و سخن سا
 وله

ماه رمضان آمد اے ترک سخن بر
 بوخیخ و مرا سینه و سجاده نیاور
 و اسباب طرب را ببر از مجلس بیرون
 زان پیش که ناگاه تقیای رسد از در
 وان مصطفی فرسوده که پاریخته ز مجلس
 بردی بشب عید و نیاوردی دیگر
 باز آر و بده تا که بشنوانم در سه سوره
 غفران پدر خواجه و آمرزش مادر
 مے خوردن این ماه و دانست که این ماه
 فرمان خدا دارد و یرلیخ پیمبر
 در روز حرام است به اجماع و لیکن
 زندانه توان خورد به شب یگدوسه ساغر
 بیش از دوسه ساغر نتوان خورد که تا صبح
 یویش رود از کام و خمارش رود از سر
 یا خورد بدان گونه بپاید که ز مستی
 تا شام دگر بر نتوان خاست ز بستر
 تا خلق نگویند که می خورده قلانی
 آره چه خبر کس را از راز مستر
 من مذهبی این است ولی وجه میم نیست
 دین کار نیاید بجز از مرد توانگر
 ناچار من و مصطفی و سجاده و تسبیح
 را در شبانروزی و آن ذکر مقرر

- (v) His productive, rich, and luxuriant style, with his wonderful command of the language, is more than what could be achieved by any Persian poet during the last two centuries

the advent of Bābur, which is synchronous with the

before him. This is evident from the sweetness inherent in his poetry, and his uses of verbs with their auxiliaries in distinctive and varied meanings, which have acquired the bearing and stamp of idiom. For instance, he uses the verb *افتد* in so many flexible ways and with such clever turns that one cannot but admire his *ijtihād*. The following lines deserve special notice :

اے خوشا وقت کہ از غایت مستیش شدن
 همچو سرما زده در کام بتکرار افتد
 بے خطا گفتم و شاه از همه حال آگاهست
 می نتواهد که ہمیں پردہ ز اسرار افتد
 ہم خداوند و ہم شاه از همه حال آگاهست
 این چنین رنדי و قلشی بسیار افتد
 چون بر ابنائے جہاں بار خدا ستار است
 لاجرم سایہ او باید ستار افتد

- (vi) He was a genius, and proficient in three languages, Turkish, French, and Arabic and made a free use of their vocabulary in his poetical composition, more than any other poet of Persia ever did before.
- (vii) He uses many redundant words (زوائد) with the air of a *Mujtahid*. Not only stray instances of same are to be met with in his poetry here and there, as is the case with other poets, but that he picks up a word and makes it a regular *redif* e.g., cf., his long *qasida* beginning with :

آمد بہ برم درش یکے سادہ پسر بر
 و ز مشک فرو ہشتہ دو گیسو بقمر بر

He also invented and introduced *stammering* poems, depicting in words the halting articulations, stops and rapid repetitions of a habitual stammerer. It was a bold step for him to take in the 19th century, which no other poet ventured before him

Safawi persecution, as it did afterwards.

- (viii) The sweetness and melody inherent in his *qasīda* is most remarkable, and presents a new phase in the art of *qasīda-writing*, which originally belonged to *ghazal*.
 - (ix) He widened the scope of Persian poetry by allowing زحافات and admitting obsolete words and new sets of compounds and constructions in his composition, a step which befitted him as an *امام* or a recognised leader of poets.
 - (x) He is a great force in the field of 19th century Persian literature. His style characterised by freshness of expression, rejuvenation of thought, and naturalness of simile, is unique in the life and literature of Qajar Persia. Nay, the service rendered by him to Persian poetry as a whole, is most remarkable, and stands by itself.
 - (xi) He revived the poetry of the early and the middle age, and combined in his *qasīda* the merits of Rūdakī Farrukhī, Manuchahrī, Anwārī, and Zāhīr, adding to them a charm all his own. He thus raised the standard and dignity of Persian poetry, which had fallen so low in Persia since after the coming away of Abu Talib Kalīm to India, and is regarded as the *last great poet of Persian language*, a position justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.
 - (xii) In prose, his work “کتاب پریشان” written after the manner and style of Sa’di’s *Gulistan*, is a reflection and a blot on his good name, and does him no credit as a prose-writer. It is full of scurrilous anecdotes, and reveals his easy life and freedom of thought which he loved so well.
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CHAPTER IX

He was by nature tender-hearted and was inclined more and more, as he advanced in years, towards

Wave of pessimism in the latter part of his life due to the influence of religious atmosphere obtained in India.

Sūfism and renunciation. His growing desire for the company of the devout, and his aversion to this material world, had manifested themselves too clearly on several occasions. His frequent visits to the tombs of saints, and his association with the Sūfis of the time, and taking auguries from the *Diwan* of Hāfiz on important matters of state, domestic, and personal, was for the most part under the influence of the Indian atmosphere during his stay in Hindūstān, which was already a most noted country in the East for spiritual progress and the religious activities of its people. The Persian mysticism, since its very advent in India, had found a warm reception by the religious-minded populace; and this joint working of Muslim thought with the Hindū zeal for devotional practices, aiming at the purification of the soul, had created a spiritual atmosphere, the effects of which no foreigner, however stiff-hearted and indifferent he might be, could escape. Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and other contemporary and later historians, have quoted instances of his pessimistic views. The one recorded by Abūl Fazl is reproduced as follows :

۱ و اکثر اوقات بر زبان اقدس حضرت جهانبانی
 جنت آشیانی ذکر سفر ملک مقدس میگشت و بر
 عادت پسندیده خویش این معنی را که منافی
 خلاف عالم انتظام است مکروه داشته - مذکور
 مجلس عالی نمی شد درین ولا بذکر آن
 خوشوقت می گشتند - همانا که بر پیشگاه باطن
 غیب دان نقش آن پرتو انداخته بود از انجمله
 روزی تصدیق و تحسین کلام حقیقت انجام گیتی ستانی
 فردوس مکانی میفرمودند که حضرت فردوس مکانی
 در محفل خود مذکور میفرمودند که فلاں ملازم من
 میگفت که هرگاه خوابستان گورستان غزنین بنظر
 در می آید مرا میل مردن می شود و در تلو آن میفرمودند
 که ما چون دهلی و مزارت آنرا مشاهده می کنیم
 سخن او بیان می آید که چه خوش میگفت و در
 همان نزدیکی که متوجه ملک بقا می شوند به بعضی
 از مستعدان خطاب می فرمودند که امروز بعد از فراغ
 عبادت سکری حالتی دست داده بود و ملهم غیبی این
 رباعی بر زبان داد

رباعی

یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گردان

واقف بحقایق خواصم گردان

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 435. (Mahārāja Patiala edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

از عقل جفا کار دل افکار شدم
دیوانۀ خود خوان و خلاصم گردان

And often times passed on the holy tongue of the late king (whose abode is in Paradise), the talk of travel to the next world ; and against his old pleasing habit, this talk which is opposed to the orderly government of this world, and which he did not like to be mentioned in his sublime assembly before, he was pleased with its mention in these days. Verily, since on the heart of the secret-knowing king, the effects of such thoughts had already cast their shadows, therefrom the king did one day praise and vouchsafe for the truthful utterance of the late conqueror, *Firdaus-Makānī* (Bābur), saying, that *Firdaus-Makānī* once in his assembly mentioned that a certain servant of his said one day, "Whenever the sleeping Yard of the Cemetery of Ghaznī comes into my sight, I am inclined to die." And after this, the king added, "When I see Delhi and its tombs I recollect the speech of the late king—how nice and true he said !" And near about the time when he was to turn his face towards the eternal kingdom, he addressed to some of his attendants, "Today, after the morning prayers, something happened, and the angel of inspiration put this quatrain on my tongue :—

O God, with Thy plentiful grace select me
for Thy nearness,
Make me acquainted with the secrets of
Thy chosen people ;

journey until his reaching Delhi and the conquest of Hindūstān, having abstained from all animal food, sought victory through spiritual attentions, evinced the greatest pleasure today.

Along with his abstinence from the animal food, he also used to take auguries from the *Dīwān* of Hāfiz,¹

- ¹ The practice of consulting omens from the *dīwān* of Hāfiz was prevalent in Persia also. The belief of the Persians in *tafāwul* was so great that they gave the names of *Lisān'-ul-Ghaib* (Invisible tongue), and *Tarjumān-ul-Asrār* (Interpreter of mysteries), to Hāfiz's *dīwān*. Like the Mughal emperors in India, the Persian royal house also, in spite of their disbelief in the Sunnī *tarīqat* and in Sūfīs, used to take auguries from the *dīwān* on important private and official matters. The *Latīfa i Ghai-biyya* (a book written by a Persian noble and poet of the town of Dīrāb, printed at Tih-rān in 1304 A.H.) mentions several instances of such auguries drawn from *Hāfiz* by the Persian kings. Cf.—

- (i) Shāh Isma'īl I, the promulgator of the Shi'a faith in Persia, who even went to the length of destroying the tombs of Sūfīs, decided to consult Hāfiz's *dīwān* about the destruction of the latter's tomb. The result of this augury was the following verse :

جواز سحر نهاده حایل بر ابرم
یعنی غلام شاهم و سوگند می خورم

- (ii) Shāh Tahmāsp one day lost his ring, and consulted *Hāfiz* which opened at the following verse ;

دلے کہ غیب نمایست و جام جم دارد
; خاتمے کہ دمی کم شود چه غم دارد

believing in their efficacy, just as the ancient Romans used to consult Vergil, when they were in doubt as to the proper course of action to be pursued by them. While yet in Cābul, after his return from Persia, he consulted the *diwān* about his success in his impending attack on Hindūstān, to regain his lost kingdom from Shēr Shāh. A detailed account of this augury and his personal faith in its efficacy, is given in the following extract :

عنان عزیمت والا بصوب صواب ممالک هندوستان
معطوف فرمودند و آن نور پرورد ایزدی یعنی حضرت

- (iii) Similarly, Shāh Abbās II, like Humāyūn, once took an augury from Hāfiz's *diwān* regarding the conquest of Azarbāijān, of which the capital is Tabriz. The following verse was the remarkable response :

عراق و فارس گزتی بشعر خرد حافظ
بیا که نوبی بغداد و وقت تبریز است

1. Ibid., p. 409.

NOTE.—The difference in the Persian and the Indian method of taking auguries may be noted :—In India, the popular method is to open the *diwān*, after reciting *fātiha* with or without *durūd*, and invoking its blessings on the departed soul of Hāfiz. The first verse of the open page on the right is generally taken as Hāfiz's response to the query. If the answer is not clear, the 7th line of the same page is the next best verse to be counted upon. But if neither gives satisfaction, six further pages are turned, and the first verse of the 7th page is accepted as final.

شاهنشاهی واکه که عمر عصفری آنحضرت دران هنگام
 سعادت پیرای دوازده سال و هشت ماه بود و عقل
 کامل آن بزرگ کونین از احاطه احصا افزون مقدمه
 جیش فتوحات صوری و معنوی ساخته بان پای اقبال
 را بچولان در آوردند و در روز توجه عالی بدیوان لسان
 الغیب تبرک و تفاول جستند چون امری عظیم از پرده
 غیب و جلباب خفا جلوه ظهور می نماید منادیان
 بشارت از انفس و آفاق بهزار زبان بلند آوازه
 می کردند از انجمله این شاه بیت قدسی عبارت برسر
 صفحه اولی که سر نوشت پیمشانی دولت تواند شد
 عنوانی منشور فتم نمون -

شعر حافظ

دولت از مرغ همایون طلب و سایه او
 زانکه با زاغ و زغن شهپر همت نبود

اگرچه خرد مندان عالم معامله دانی این کلام
 حقیقت ترجمان را بر دولت و نصرت حضرت جهانبانی
 بشارتی شایسته خیال نموده بهجت آرای مکمل سعادت

In Persia the method of opening the *dīwān* at random is more common, and the condition of reciting *fātiha* is not considered necessary, though *durūd* is generally read simultaneously with opening the book. Some take the first line on which the eye falls, be it on the right or on the left page ; while others consider the first verse of the ode, which begins on the right page, as the proper answer.

شدند اما در دینان بارگاه دانش فکوائی این نظم
 بدیع را نوید خلافت کبری و مژده سلطنت عظمی
 حضرت شهنشاهی دریافته در در انتظار طیران علو
 این طایر قدسی اقامت فرمودند و حضرت جهانبانی
 اعتصام به عروة الوثقی عنایت الهی و استمساک به
 حبل المتین بشارت آسمانی نموده با اندکی از مردم
 که بسه هزار کشند بمعاضدت بسیاری از جنود غیبی
 که بشمار مکهاسبان عقول نگنجند نهضت فرمودند -

In the above-quoted extract one could see the wonderful effect exercised by the miraculous verse of Hāfiz. Not only it filled the heart of Humāyūn and his generals with hope, but that the confidence it infused was so great that he marched without even adequate preparation with a number less than 3000 foot and cavalry all told,¹ on such a big mission as the re-conquest of Hindūstān.

¹ This original figure was substantially increased later, and many more joined him on his way to Hindūstān. The warring factions in India, jealous of one another's power, were a great incentive to Humāyūn, who entered the country unopposed, and marched as far as Lahore without facing any great opposition. Other natural factors were the death of Salim, the powerful Pathān King, and the invitation sent to Humāyūn by the discontented *Umara* of Delhi and Agra to come to Hindūstān and occupy his father's throne. Almost all the tribes of the Pathāns were engaged in the civil war. It was therefore the most opportune moment for Humāyūn to return.

One day, when he was out for hunting in Cābul, he expressed to his nobles the anxiety of his mind to regain his lost throne, and consulted them as to the advisability of leading an attack on India with the meagre men and material he could collect. Those who had lived in India in the heyday of his fortune, and enjoyed the comfort and

His reading omens in the phenomena of *Nature*, and his belief in their symbolic truth.

wealth of the country, offered to consult the old method of divination, *viz.*, to send a courier ahead, who should go and return after taking down the names of the first three persons he meets. The king readily consented to this and sent three horsemen, instead of one, all in the direction of Hindūstān but separate from one another, who were to return immediately after meeting the first person each, and report to him their names individually. The first brought the news that he met a trader named *دلت* *fortune*. The other said that he met a traveller by name, *دل*, *object of the heart*. The third reported that he came across a peasant whose name was *سعادت* *auspiciousness*. The conclusion drawn was that the king should immediately start upon his campaign, unmindful of the number of his army, as success was sure to attend on him. He therefore put himself to this task at once and invited recruits who readily responded to his call under the said belief. Thus in the month of Safar in 962 A.H., he marched from Cābul, and was joined by many veteran soldiers on his way to Hindūstān.

His keen sense of giving justice to the poor against the high-handedness of the officials had led

to the invention of *tabl-i-'adl* (or drum of justice), which he had ordered to be placed in the outside corridor of the royal palace. Any one from the highest to the humblest in life could approach him without fear of molestation, and use that drum to draw the attention of the king in person, towards the tyranny shown to him by any official, enemy, robber, or noble of the court. This mode of giving justice was appreciated and copied by his successors in India, the most notable among whom was his grandson, Jahāngīr. He had a gold chain measuring 30 *zira*¹ in length, with 60 bells, one end of which was tied to the parapet of the royal dome of his fort at Agra, and the other to a mile-stone fixed on the bank of the Jamuna.² Humāyūn's *drum of Justice* is

¹ A Persian yard.

² Cf. Jahāngīr's own statement :

بعد از جارس اولین حکمی که از من صادر گشت بستن زنجیر
عدل بود که اگر مقصدیان مهمات دارالعدالت در داد خواهی و غرر
رسمی ستم رسیدگان و مظلومان اهل مال و مدهانت و وزند آن مظلومان
خود را بدین زنجیر رسانیده سلسله جنبان گردند تا صدای آن باعث
آگاهی گردد - وضع آن برین نهج است - از طلای ناب فرسود
زنجیری سازند طوایف سی فراع مشتمل بر شصت زنگ - وزن آن
چهار من یک سرش برنگو شاه برج قلعه آگره استوار
ساخته بر دیگر تاققار دریا پرده بر میل سنگین که نصب شده بود
محکم ساختند -

[Tuzuk i Jahāngīr]

described with its details of procedure by Abul Fazl as follows :—

۱ و از مختصرات آنحضرت طبل عدل بود که اگر دادخواهی را با کسی مخالفت می شد یک نوبت چوب بر طبل میزد و اگر تظلم او از عدم وصول علوفه بود دو نوبت آن کار میکرد و اگر ما و جهات او را ظالمی غصب کرده بود یا دزد برده سه نوبت طبل را بفغان آورد و اگر با کسی دعوی خون داشتی چهار نوبت صدای طبل را بلند گردانید

And from amongst the inventions of his Majesty was the *drum of Justice* to the effect that if any seeker of redress had enmity with any one, he would strike the *drum* with the stick once ; and if he was oppressed for not supplying fodder, he would do this act twice ; and if his articles of subsistence were seized by some tyrant, or carried off by some thief, he would make the *drum* sound thrice ; and if against some one he had a claim for shedding blood (murder of his kinsmen), he would cause the *drum* to sound loud four times.

His generosity and benevolence were great ; and his clemency for his brothers, who proved a constant source of trouble and a menace to the peaceful government of his empire, was extraordinary, and carried beyond

His general character.

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I. pp. 434-35. (Maharāja Patiala edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

the limits of prudence and justice which he owed to the State. He was a lover of learning and a patron of poets and prose-writers of his day. He inherited from his father the poetic genius which is displayed in his *masnawī*, *rubā'ī*, and other metrical compositions. He was unostentatiously religious and his faith in providence was remarkable. In his days of fortune as well as in distress he did not lose the balance of mind, and remained happy in his submission to the will of God. In exile, when he was persuaded to embrace the Shi'a faith, in return for the promised Persian help to reinstate him on his lost throne of Hindūstān, he had uttered the following :

ما بدین خود قایم مقام هستیم، آمدیم، و ما را
چندان آرزو پادشاهی هم نیست و هرچه هست بآراده
خداے عزوجل است، دل خود را به او بسته ایم -

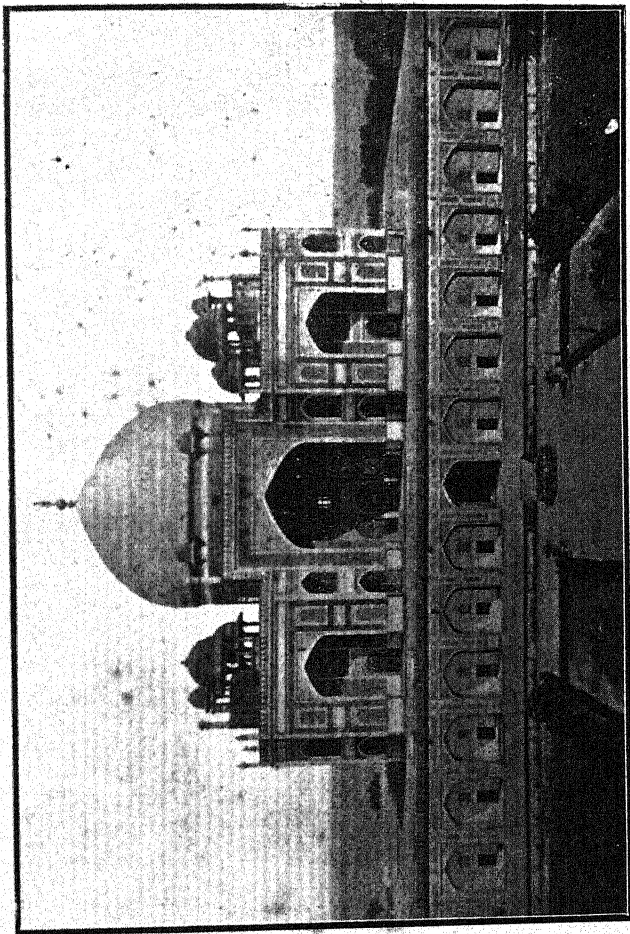
We are firm in our religion. We came ; and we do not even entertain much desire for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God, the Great and the High. We have bound our heart to Him.

In battle he was valiant, and in peace his forgiving nature never yielded to any strict measures which the times demanded, not so much through weakness of mind as through gentleness and nobility of spirit.

During his flight through the sandy desert of Sindh, when his men were almost dying with thirst

and every one ran mad for water, news arrived of Shēr Shāh's troops' near approach. Humāyūn, at this juncture, ordered all his men, who were in a fit condition, to halt and engage the enemy in battle; while the rest whose condition was sore were directed to move forward to a safe distance with women and children 115 in number. He kept the command of the fighting force directly in his own hands, and rode in front like a warrior giving heart to his tired, unwilling, and ill-equipped men. The enemy, however, did not appear on the scene, and Humāyūn rode back to the female section to communicate the good news of the enemy's non-appearance.

Even in his fall he was great, and showed the same elevation of character as he did when he wore a crown.



TOMB OF HUMĀYUN, OLD DELHĪ.



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